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THE
ANTI-FOLKLORE MOVEMENT
IN
CHINA.





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**BOUGHT FROM
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(A.B. 1849, LL.D. 1911)

OF SAN FRANCISCO

THE
ANTI-FOREIGN RIOTS IN CHINA IN 1891.

THE
ANTI-FOREIGN RIOTS
IN
CHINA
IN
1891.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

SHANGHAI:
PRINTED AT THE "NORTH CHINA HERALD" OFFICE.
—
1892.

PREFACE.

As the China Riots have now created world-wide interest, and as they are still by no means satisfactorily settled, it has been thought that a republication of all the leading Letters and Articles and Documents that have appeared on the subject would be found desirable for reference.

So much attention has been directed to Hunan, that we have added as an appendix the "Record of a Six Weeks' Trip" in the province, which appeared in the columns of the *North-China Daily News* and *North-China Herald* in June and July, 1891.

The miscellaneous articles, correspondence, etc., in the following pages, are all taken from the papers just mentioned, where it is not otherwise stated.

The investigation and settlement of Chou Han's case have taken place since the Introduction was printed.

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The Anti-Foreign Riots.

INTRODUCTION.

THE RIOTS: THEIR CAUSES AND REMEDIES.

SINCE the foreign war of 1860, with the exception of the anti-foreign wave of 1870 which culminated in the Tientsin massacre, nothing so serious has happened to foreigners in China as the organized Riots of 1891, beginning in the Yangtze-valley and stretching from Shanghai to Ichang and from Canton to the Amoor. This antagonistic movement persisted for ten months to threaten the security of foreigners, if indeed we may dare feel safely out of it yet. True, only two foreigners' lives were lost, but the lives of hundreds and even thousands of foreigners widely scattered over the Empire were threatened for months by violent placards attributing all sorts of barbarous and horrible crimes to the foreigners, especially to missionaries, and calling upon all loyal, honest, and good men to rise up, burn their houses and kill them clean out of the land; while hundreds of native Christians were massacred, thousands more were threatened with all sorts of horrible deaths. The Hunanites threatened to butcher Christians, foreign and native, like so many animals, slice them up into pieces weighing one catty each and divide them to be feasted on! Dates were fixed on once and again and yet again for the general rising and massacre, making the long tension too much for some to bear. Many inland missionaries moved to the Ports till the worst should be passed.

Regarding this incessant, bitter and diabolic opposition the question has been asked again and again what is the cause of it?

So far as published the causes of the riots may be conveniently classed under five heads, viz. :

1.—Government incapacity. There are problems continually cropping up to be solved by the Government, but it does nothing satisfactory to solve them. This is the opinion held by "Spes," who was one of the first to write on the subject in June last.

2.—Another cause was the intended rebellion of the *Ko-lao Hui* after involving the Chinese Government in foreign war, as put forth by Mr. Drummond.

3.—The chief cause according to another party is the destructive and wicked teachings and practices of the missionaries, Catholic and Reformed. This is the view put forth in a remarkable letter by "A Chinese," the author of the *Defensio*, by the authors of the Chinese anti-Christian publications, and, to some extent, by "Candid Friend" in a pamphlet issued last autumn in China and in England.

4.—Another view of the cause of the riots is that they are brought about by a systematic publication and widespread circulation of most scandalous and libellous literature by Chinese mandarins and gentry in order to inflame public opinion against Christians and foreigners generally. This was mentioned at the Missionary Conference, in 1890, and trouble was then predicted unless something should be done to prevent it. Of late, in the same line, Dr. John has disclosed to us the diabolical nature of later efforts of the Literati in the shape of the Hunan publications.

5.—Another view, published in Chinese books by authors who are high mandarins, is that international intercourse is a source of incalculable loss to China. The sale of foreign opium drains China of its silver; the import of manufactured goods destroys native industries throughout the land; the introduction of steamers has thrown immense numbers of Government grain-carriers out of employment; the increasing failure of the tea and silk trade also drives the people generally to despair; the loss of Annam and Burmah and other territories to France, England, Russia and Japan, makes the Chinese officials and people fear that they will lose their country altogether. All these things combined make the Chinese determine to oppose foreigners at any cost. This is the explanation given by Chinese *Blue*

Books and Indulgent Treatment of Foreigners. This view explains failure to open up Chungking, and probably also Ichang riots and the attitude there till now.

No one who has carefully studied this question, I think, will doubt that there is some truth in each of these views, nor will he doubt that some of them have been monstrosly exaggerated, especially that put forth by so many mandarins and by the Hunan publications so as to rouse up the people into a frenzy of not merely anti-Christian but anti-foreign crusade.

If one word is wanted which more than another would express the reason why the Chinese set themselves up to oppose the irresistible march of universal progress, it would be the word *Ignorance*; and this ignorance which was excusable thirty years ago is now fast becoming culpable.

If China knew more, the Government would not be so helpless as "Spes" describes it. If China knew more, the Government would meet the Ko-lao Hui with a Reform that would satisfy all reasonable Ko-lao Hui men. If China knew more, the Government would give some welcome to the representatives of those who have been in the van of progress in all lands. If China knew more, the Government would not stain its own civilization by publishing such libels as would be a shame even to uncivilized savages to invent. If China knew more, the Government, instead of grieving over international intercourse as a loss and attempting the impossible task of stopping all intercourse, would, like other nations, turn it to her own profit.

If these be the causes—and no others have been suggested—the remedy is not far to seek.

To remove the incompetency of China a fair knowledge of the chief ways of all nations is absolutely necessary. This was the first step in the improvement of Japan. It decided to get all the knowledge of the West, the result being that one of the weakest of Asiatic nations has risen, within thirty years, to be the first independent Asiatic power to-day.

To quiet the Ko-lao Hui nothing short of Reform on the lines of complaint can be considered of permanent value. To put to death leaders who have just grievances is only to feed the fire of discord and insurrection. Similar grievances have been satisfactorily settled in the West. The knowledge of such methods used in the West is better than an army of soldiers.

To remove missionary troubles there must be a better way than indiscriminate abuse of all Christians, for this insults the Rulers of Christendom, high and low, as they too are Christians, as well as missionaries. Surely the Chinese know that there are good people to be found outside China. The Chinese must also know that there are many intelligent men among the missionaries devoting all their lives to education, medicine, philanthropic and literary work and to everything that can benefit China. If, instead of persistently maligning these, as having some treasonable motives at heart they welcomed them for what they truly are—their best friends—most of the missionary troubles would vanish. Should there be a few foolish among missionaries, as there are in every class of men, who rudely trust their own conscience against a Chinaman's, and seek out only the weak points of Chinese religions and hold them up to ridicule,—a thing both unchristian and intolerable—let them be dealt with according to the "Order in Council."

To remove the attacks of the Chinese Government through its public documents and the wide dissemination of anti-Christian and anti-foreign books which endanger the peace of the Empire, nothing is easier if the Chinese follow their own laws, not to speak of international law, for, according to these, slanders *must* be suppressed and the authors and publishers of them punished before peace can be dreamt of.

To remove all apprehension of danger from international intercourse the Chinese should study the benefits which have accrued to other nations from international intercourse and how they secured them. Following a similar course China may also reap similar benefits.

Speedy measures must be taken to remove the dense ignorance in regard to all foreign affairs. Schools where—in addition to Chinese education—foreign education is given must be established in every province. The experience of European nations and of Japan, at China's very door, show that for want of Western knowledge *each province of China* loses annually, even at a tenth of Giffen's calculation of progress in England, no less than forty million taels! Would any but the most foolish despise a knowledge that would bring such immense blessings to the poor of the land? And would any intelligent men ever hope to get out of these troubles without more knowledge?

But when we turn from what appears to be the *proper* settlement of the Riots what do we find has actually been done by way of settlement?

There is the Imperial Edict ~~got with much difficulty~~. There is the punishment of a few murderers at Wusueh. There is indemnity given for property destroyed. There were proclamations put forth by the provincial authorities *when the riots threatment to develope into anarchy and rebellion*. But it should be born in mind that the Sacred Edict of Kang Hi which denounces Christianity is, notwithstanding Treaties and last summer's Edict, still ordered to be read and explained in every county to the people twice every month; that nothing is done to shew proper disapproval of the authors or publishers of the scandalous libels of the Chinese "Blue Books"; that though the members of the Ko-lao Hui who meditated rebellion against the Manchus are ferreted out for torture, execution and slicing from every province far and near, and the rebellion in the North was put down by the destruction of 15,000 lives and the degradation for life of some of the leading mandarins, yet those who took a leading part in publishing and circulating everywhere libellous literature to incite people to violence against *Foreigners*—a crime which, according to the proclamation of the Shanghai Taotai, is punishable with death—are still unpunished and even unarrested! When such flagrant violators of all peace as the authors of the Hunan publications are, after ten months, unarrested, what claim has China to any of the privileges of international law?

Of late the Chinese are agitating for further punishment of Mason, a foreigner who has already been sentenced to nine months imprisonment. But what of the hundreds of Chinese officials and gentry who have been egging on their countrymen to murder foreigners? None of these have even been seriously tried or punished, and, what is more, their iniquitous publications such as the "Blue Books," Sacred Edict, etc., are still circulated unchecked! May it not be that foreign Governments after failing to get even a semblance of justice will put this down for a future day of reckoning when opportunity presents itself?

As to measures taken for circulating truth instead of falsehood and for establishing schools in *all* the provinces for the enlightenment of China in regard to all important world-wide matters, we know of nothing having been done as yet—except talk,

while the millions of its pupils throughout the empire are still kept in absolute darkness about the geography of the world or the history of any nations outside Asia !

So long as the main causes of the Riots are still left untouched and the Government seems to have little objection to persistent and widespread attacks on foreigners by the foulest libels provided it does not come to open rupture, is there any hope of permanent peace ? As both Chinese law and international law are persistently ignored by the Chinese, it is certain that Foreign Powers will suddenly, and when least expected perhaps, say—as Lord Salisbury hinted last summer—as you Chinese cannot or will not keep the peace *henceforth we will do it for you !*

If I were the most patriotic of Chinamen, instead of encouraging discord as so many leading Chinamen do now, I would rouse Heaven and Earth to get China cease from this attitude of constantly and deliberately irritating Foreign Powers by the false assumption running through all their *spontaneous* publications that *all Christians are bad* ; for should it suit Western Powers—as it may some day—to unite against China, she would be remorselessly crushed under the European heel as though she were a stinging intolerable viper. But if China were freely to admit that there are good people in all countries and were to learn the arts of the West in addition to those of her own country, then in thirty years China would not only be the leading independent power in Asia but would be a Power that even united Europe would hesitate to attack. Those who best know and observe the laws of God in nature, in men and in nations prosper best, those who know them least prosper least. Without knowledge there is constant weakness and peril, with knowledge and virtuous use of it is strength and safety.

The ignorant think that Christian civilization and Chinese civilization are antagonistic, like two implacable enemies who must fight a duel in which one must be killed. Those who well know both, know that the best in China and in the West are in perfect harmony. Let the best of the two civilizations unite and nothing but good will follow. Should China still oppose the best and despise knowledge, then neither the Powers in Heaven or on earth will let it prosper long. It is for China to choose whether to prosper or perish !

Shanghai, April 1892.

FRIEND OF CHINA.

THE RIOTS.

RIOTS IN SZECHUAN, 1886-1890.

(Abridged from the condensed translation of the *compte rendu* sent by the Lazarist Fathers in Szechuan to the French Government, which appeared in *North-China Herald* for May 29th and June 5th, 1891.)

IN July 1886 the Mission houses at Chungking [Roman Catholic, Methodist Episcopal and China Inland Mission] were pillaged and burned. Lo, a catholic, was attacked by rioters when his house was full of friends and relatives assembled for a funeral. He used the right acknowledged by all nations of repelling violence by violence,—that is, when it is a case of breaking into a house and threatening the lives of many,—but he was on that account put to death without trial.

At Lungchui near Tawan where there were 600 Christians, rumours of attack to be made at the Festival of Linkwan were circulated. The mandarin put a proclamation to warn the people that if they created a disturbance they would be punished, but the mob disregarded that and pillaged and burnt the church and two schools; seventy families fled to the mountains to save their lives while their houses were burnt and pillaged by the savage mob. Similar violence was perpetrated at Mapao notwithstanding the proclamation of the mandarin. This was on the 21st July.

The next day in other places—Keongao, Minkiang, Wanku, Chewan, Ongkimiao—were likewise attacked. The rioters had raised all the country side and proclaimed that they had orders from the Emperor and mandarins to destroy Christianity. Monseigneur Coupat took refuge in the Taotai's yamên while many Christians fled for their lives. One of the rioters who had wounded one of the militia was shot. This put an end to the persecution of 1886.

A Wei-yuen [Commissioner] was sent down from Chingtu, the provincial capital, to examine into the whole question, but, instead of examining into the merits of the case, he rated the people for becoming Christians, adding that if they had remained Confucianists they would not have had trouble.

In November of the same year (1886) an official document was received stating that Tls. 15,000 should be paid as an indemnity for property destroyed, but none of the persecutors were punished. Thus was the persecution of that year settled.

In March 1888, the Catholics began to rebuild the church destroyed at Lungchui, but in July at the feast of Linkwan the church was again burnt and a raid was made on the Christians in the surrounding country similar to that of 1886. Twice were leaders of riots arrested and twice were they rescued by the rioters on their way to Chungking, and the Hsien magistrate was greatly insulted while interfering in the matter.

Another Commissioner was sent down to settle the matter. It was agreed that the church should be permitted to be rebuilt on condition that none of the former rioters be punished!

In 1890 when the church was being built again there was another attack on it on 4th August by about 30,000 people. Happily they were checked then by the military authorities; but a week later (the 11th) another attack was made, and all the farms and shops of the Christians were burnt or destroyed for the third time in four years, and several Christians were killed in a most brutal manner.

On the 14th August, Mapao was similarly attacked with more murders and burning of churches and Christians' houses and a reign of terror was continued for months by this leader of the rioters. A Commissioner was sent to inquire into the affair. He made up his mind from the beginning that there must have

been faults on both sides—listened however only to the reports of the non-Christians who declared that the Christians had killed ten persons.

September 23rd and 24th.—The rioters now numbered about 10,000 and were a terror all round ; the Christians had to flee for their lives. When they presented themselves at Chungking before the mandarin for protection, instead of protecting them, he exhorted them in full tribunal to apostatise then they should have protection ! After this, reminding them of what had been done to Lo at Chungking, the sub-Prefect charged the Christians with assembling 100 fighting men in the oratory.

October 23rd to November 10th.—At this date the rioters finding themselves supported by the mandarins came again about 2,000 strong. On their flags they had “ By order of the Emperor, destruction of religious rebellion : General Tsiang Chow, in command.” All the Christians were attacked again, and all the buildings sacked, burnt and destroyed. It was then that the local mandarin committed his most odious injustice. When he heard that about 100 of these Christian women were fleeing to the city for refuge from the rioters, he ordered the city gates to be closed against them and the poor women had to go on to Chungking, four days journey further off, before they could get refuge from the insults of the populace. One young woman was stripped of her clothes and dragged into a temple where the brigands were, while an old man of seventy was murdered.

At this stage the indignation of the people was roused against the rioters and in favour of the Christians.

To sum up—there were about 2,000 Christians taking refuge in Chungking not daring to return to their houses because of the burning, spoiling, outrages and murders committed on them incessantly. Over sixty had died of exposure and hardship. An official report was drawn up accusing the Missionary of having killed eighteen people in his oratory, but when the Missionary asked to be heard in defence they refused him a hearing. Such is Chinese justice!

To settle the matter the Taotai sent three delegates and proposed :—

“ 1. That there should be no indemnity, seeing that the Christians had brought their misfortunes upon themselves.

“ 2. That Father Pons should be recalled, as unsuited for this part of the country, having been three times driven out.

"3. The Christians who are Chinese to be judged by their own authorities ; therefore those who have wounded the people (true or false this must be acknowledged), shall be punished according to the laws.

"4. The two oratories of Lungchiu and Mapao shall be placed elsewhere.

"5. The rebels, of whom a list had been sent in, having troubled the country, shall be taken and judged one after the other."

All this was simple mockery until peace was established. This is how the Chinese authorities observe the Treaties in regard to the Christian religion !

YANGCHOW RIOT.

* * * * *

That a serious outrage was contemplated at Yangchow some ten days ago on the Jesuit Mission there appears to be no doubt, but the would-be rioters were promptly "sat upon" by the Chinese authorities with the help of a large contingent of soldiers. The cause, as usual, is the dissemination of reports of the alleged ill-treatment of children at the orphanage, and it was even reported that one of them had been boiled in a bath ! What an interesting people these Chinese are !

Chinkiang, 10th May.

WUHU RIOT.

I.

SIR,—News will doubtless have reached you of the disturbance we have had here for the last few days.

It appears that two Chinese Sisters connected with the Jesuit Mission here were out on Sunday afternoon last, and as they proceeded along the street were greeted with the usual cry of the beggars and children. They are said to have spoken kindly to two of the children and patted them on the head, at which the people set upon them saying they were using medicine to stupify

and take away the speech and hearing of the children that they might steal them and send them to Shanghai. A great crowd gathered and took both the women and children to the local official who, becoming frightened, sent them to the *Hsien*.

The crowd continued to increase and become more noisy, and call for the destruction of the Jesuit Mission property.

The *Hsien*, however, managed to quiet them down though they did not disperse.

On Tuesday they got more vociferous and in the afternoon went in a body to the Jesuit Mission premises, but the priests had already fled, so that after but slight resistance on the part of the Chinese attendants, the gates were smashed in and the walls pulled down, the crowd rushing in hooting and yelling.

Spades were called for and some of the graves of those buried in the compound were opened and the contents held up as proof positive of foul play. The bodies were too much decomposed to be recognised, yet they were declared to be the remains of Chinamen cut up by the foreigners. At the sight of these the crowd broke into cries to destroy the premises, so oil was brought and thrown over everything and lighted; the whole place soon became enveloped in flame and all that now remains of the fine buildings are bare and blackened walls and broken bricks.

About dusk the crowd broke into the English Consulate causing the Consul and his wife to beat a hasty retreat in disguise.

About this time the Taotai arrived with soldiers and surrounded the Consulate, thus preventing its destruction, though a great deal of damage was done to the walls and grounds.

The attention of the mob was now turned to several large blocks of buildings belonging to the Jesuits, including the Customs' premises and the residences of nearly the whole of the staff; much of which was new property and had only been occupied a few days. Here, however, they met with resistance.

Our gallant Commissioner and his brave staff were determined to defend their premises to the last. Each was armed with a musket and bayonet, the streets were barricaded and patrols set.

Such was the determination of the mob to destroy the Customs, that the defenders had to rally time after time and, led by the Commissioner, charge the mob, many of whom can now tell to a trifle the weight of a musket.

Wednesday morning all the foreign residents were called to the *Tehhsing* by the Consul, who had detained the steamer.

On Wednesday evening three Chinese men-of-war which were passing up river (one of which had the Futai of Anhui on board) came to anchor in front of the Concession and fired a broadside or two; this with the aid of a good shower of rain quickly scattered the people.

We cannot speak too highly of the bravery of the Commissioner and all the members of both the indoor and outdoor staff, as well as of some of the other foreign residents who kept constant guard for nearly forty-eight hours.

It is without doubt entirely owing to this prompt and vigorous action that the rest of the foreign residences were not destroyed and probably some lives lost. The generous kindness of Mr. T. Weatherstone, agent of Butterfield and Swire, and Captain Cain and officers of the s.s. *Tehhsing* demand the thanks of the whole community, most of whom are in some way indebted to them for services rendered.

Captain Cain and his officers did all they could to make the ladies and children comfortable by giving up their rooms and supplying all their needs.

I have just come away from the scene of the riot and can only say that the destruction is complete; what the fire left the people systematically tore down and carried away, several of them losing their lives by falling walls in their eagerness to get all they could.

The port is much quieter now and we are expecting the English and French gunboats up any time.

I am, etc.,

JOHN WALLEY.

Methodist Episcopal Mission,
Wuhu, 14th May.

II.

SIR,—Since I last wrote we have been somewhat quieter. The Futai and the attendant men-of-war left on Thursday morning, and we have looked in vain for any further protection until Friday evening, when the *Inconstant* arrived, and a small Chinese gunboat on Saturday.

But the poor Britishers are still looking for the promised Blue Jackets. When will they appear?

The vigorous action of the foreign residents seems to have been a good lesson and would no doubt have effectually quelled the disturbance if it had been followed up by as vigorous a show of authority, and we should have been entirely free from further difficulty. But there is still a very decided anti-foreign feeling.

The proclamation issued by the 'Taotai instead of soothing the angry feelings of the people is calculated rather to irritate and is, in fact, causing an uneasy movement among the people. Though the proclamation commands the people to return quietly to their homes under pain of immediate death if caught in any disturbance, yet he tacitly acknowledges that there may have been cause for the up-rising by saying: "If you find that these institutions kidnap or steal children, don't create any disturbance but bring the matter before the proper authorities to be dealt with."

It is probably the result of this that there appears this morning a placard, supposed to be issued by the Ko-lao Hui, abusing in very liberal terms the foreigner in general and the Catholic Mission in particular, and then proceeding to say that: "Protestants and Catholics are about the same, you have already destroyed the Catholic property, let 10,000 come together as one man on the 20th of this month and completely destroy all the property belonging to both missions on Yihchishan. All Chinese living or having goods on these premises take care to move at once."

This is how we stand at present; what the end will be we cannot say. True, we have plenty of soldiers sent from different parts to protect us, but this is not re-assuring when we know that part of the prisoners taken with booty in their hands during the riot, were these same protectors with their uniform turned inside out. So I am sure you will not blame us for not placing much trust in such protection.

The grave that was opened was that of one of the priests who died here some months ago. The coffin was opened and the body searched for treasure supposed to be buried there. Had not the Hsien arrived at this juncture, it is probable that other graves would have been served in a similar way.

An astonishing part of these proceedings is the cool manner in which everything was torn down and carried away. A large

iron chest supposed to be a safe, requiring ten or twelve men to carry, was quietly carried off in broad daylight. Heavy beams and planks requiring several men to carry them were carried in open daylight past the foreign residences.

Even large bronze figures nearly life size, supposed to be intended for the Cathedral in course of erection, were carried past the line of soldiers on guard without any question being asked, and now stand in an open place not far away from the scene of the riot.

It is said that some at least of the thieves and rioters have met with severe punishment, for several have met with their death by the falling walls, while others staying too long in the burning building fell from the upper story into the burning mass below and were burnt to death.

Some twenty or thirty of those taken in the act are in the hands of the officials and are said to be awaiting the executioner's knife.

The desecration of the graves has caused much excitement among the men on board the French gun-vessel.

I am, etc.,

JOHN WALLEY.

Methodist Episcopal Mission,
Wuhu, 16th May.

III.

For some time past rumours had been afloat here that the mob intended burning down the Jesuit cathedral, buildings, etc. At first no great credence was placed in these rumours, but on the 12th inst. immense crowds began to assemble in the vicinity of the Jesuit compound. The Consul, acting on information received, had repeatedly warned the Taotai that he feared a riot was imminent and asked him to concert measures to prevent destruction to property and probable loss of life. However, with typical Chinese apathy, no measures were apparently taken to disperse the rioters who had now assembled outside the Jesuit compound to the number of about 5,000. Meanwhile numbers of old women were howling round the walls and endeavouring to incite the mob to attack the Fathers, by saying that their children had been killed by the Fathers and their eyes used as medicine. The *raison d'être* of this attack on the Jesuits is not very evident.

The following facts may, however, throw some light on the situation. On the 9th instant., two Chinese nuns from the Catholic Mission went into the city on their usual round of visits to the sick. They discovered one family suffering from an infectious disease; the parents only had been attacked so far, so they determined to remove the children, till such a time as the parents were convalescent. They had set out with the little ones when they were met by a relation of children who spoke to them and requested them to return. On the children refusing to comply and rushing to the nuns for protection, the relation called for help, seized the nuns, and carried them before the Pao-chia-chu (保甲局) and accused them of spiriting the children away by some occult means for the purpose of killing them in order to use their eyes as medicine. This seems a popular belief here, even among educated Chinamen, that the eyes of young children are used in this way. This mandarin being unable to decide the matter sent the nuns under escort to the Hsien (縣) or district magistrate, where they were detained. The Roman Catholic Fathers on hearing this hastened to the magistrate's yamên and obtained their release. The populace became infuriated at this, and declared that the magistrate had been bribed to release the nuns. They then declared their intention of attacking and burning the Roman Catholic Mission and the Custom House on the morrow.

About 5 o'clock p.m. on the 12th inst., they began the attack by endeavouring to force the doors of the French Fathers' compound; not succeeding, however, in this they applied themselves vigorously to the walls, which soon fell before a somewhat persuasive ram wielded by some hundreds of the mob. This breach was followed by many more, through all of which the mob rushed with demoniacal yells till this immense compound was filled with howling savages. Conspicuous among the mob were two or three respectably dressed Chinamen who appeared to direct the work of destruction. They each carried a little flag, which would point to their probably belonging to one of the many secret societies which appear to flourish so exceedingly well in China. They were very undemonstrative, and appeared to give their orders with that perfect precision and *sang-froid* which can only be acquired by long practice.

Once in the compound, the mob quickly effected an entrance to the main building which they looted, and fired in two or three places at same time. The fire spread rapidly, so that in a short space of time this immense building was enveloped in flames. The Fathers just managed to escape by the back as the mob forced the main entrance, and succeeded in reaching the *Letai* hulk in safety. They remained on board the hulk for about half an hour and then proceeded to Chinkiang in a Chinese junk.

At this stage of the proceedings about twenty soldiers appeared on the scene and commenced firing blank ammunition at the mob, who evinced such a decided distaste for "villanous saltpetre" that they turned tail and displayed as much anxiety to get out of the compound as they had previously exhibited to get in. Finding, however, that no casualties resulted from the soldiers' fire, they appeared to take heart and returned to their work of destruction with redoubled vigour. The soldiers having apparently either exhausted their ammunition (blank) or their orders—or perhaps both,—shouldered their rusty muskets and disappeared at the double, leaving the rabble in full possession of the field to work their own sweet wills. They now proceeded to ruthlessly destroy and fire the cathedral, which was in an advanced stage of completion and was an exceedingly handsome building. By this time the crowd must have increased to about six thousand; all the rising ground in the neighbourhood seemed one mighty sea of struggling, yelling savages, who gave vent to their feelings in mighty yells as they witnessed each fresh act of vandalism performed by their friends within the compound of the Fathers. The consular boundary wall at last gave way in several places and the rabble streamed into the grounds, trampling on and destroying whatever came in their way. Beyond throwing a few stones and smashing some panes of glass they did no other damage to the Consulate. Up to this time the Consul and his wife had remained in their house, but momentarily fearing an attack, they disguised themselves in Chinese clothes and by this means managed to run the gauntlet of the rabble and reached the Custom House without sustaining any injury, beyond being hustled a little. Mrs. Ford was sent on board the *Letai*—all the other ladies having gone there in the earlier part of the day—where Mr. Weatherstone endeavoured to make everyone as comfortable as circumstances would permit.

On the first alarm the Wuhu Customs' volunteer force under their adjutant (Captain Parr), got under arms, and I must say they presented a very formidable appearance, indeed, with their new Lee magazine rifles. Of their doings during this trouble I shall have something to say later on.

The rabble having completely gutted all the buildings within the compound of the French Fathers proceeded next to loot and fire the school house belonging to this Mission. This completed, nothing intervened between them and the Custom House save a row of houses, newly erected by the French Fathers and occupied by the members of the Customs' outdoor staff. These had all been evacuated in order that the men might be concentrated at the Custom House for its better defence, and, therefore, fell an easy prey to the rabble, who proceeded to loot these houses in a thoroughly business style, and then attempted to fire them. In this diabolical attempt they were happily frustrated by the arrival of the Taotai and the prompt action of the Customs' staff, who soon got the flames subdued. Had they succeeded in firing these buildings, the Custom House must inevitably have been destroyed. Some clever and plucky captures of incendiaries and looters were made by the Customs' volunteer force, who really handled their weapons splendidly; indeed, some of their charges against the mob were executed in first-class style, and I may add a word of praise for the gentleman who so brilliantly led these charges. After the looting of the officers' quarters, the Customs' library was transformed into a temporary barrack-room for the accommodation of the volunteer force. It was rumoured on the morning of the 13th that the mob, having failed in their attack on the Customs' premises on the previous day, intended at 5 o'clock p.m. to again make the attempt. Long before that hour, however, immense crowds assembled along the shore in front of the Customs, and towards 5 o'clock p.m. began to throw stones. On receiving the first volley of stones the Customs' force charged the mob and drove them back. The force was then drawn across the shore in order to prevent the mob passing through. They, after a time, found this restraint somewhat irksome and very soon gave vent to their feelings in a shower of stones which struck some of the Customs' force rather severely. The order was again given to charge, with the result that after the persuasive argument

of the bayonets and a few well directed sword cuts, they were still further driven back. However, they seemed determined to once more try the effect of a volley of stones, which certainly compelled the Customs' force to fall back ; this, I fancy, the rabble considered a retreat, for they now advanced yelling and hooting, but the Customs soon rallied and led by their adjutant with his "at them again, my boys" drove the crowd back once more. This last charge seemed to instil into them a holy dread of cold steel, which combined with the arrival of the Futai with three gunboats completed their discomfiture. The crowd now began to grow gradually and beautifully less, till eventually but a remnant of that immense mob remained.

I think there is no doubt that but for the prompt and effective charges of the Customs' force, matters would have assumed a very serious aspect, as there is not the slightest doubt but that the mob meant business.

There are now on the spot some 500 Chinese "braves," so, I fancy, the affair may be considered at an end. But there is no doubt that had the Taotal promptly put 100 men in the field the mob would never have attempted to attack the French Fathers. It appears, however, that although he draws pay for over 500, he actually has not fifty available men ; so this may in part explain his apparent inability to cope with the situation. A gunboat might have done some good, but even that luxury was denied us.

It strikes one forcibly that the idea of having a volunteer force at Wuhu is a good one, and the services they have rendered on this momentous occasion, I think, eloquently suggest the advisability of raising similar forces at all the other outports. Of course every port cannot boast a military gentleman as Wuhu can, but, I think, if these forces were raised, some one capable of instructing them could easily be found.

Before concluding this hurried account, I would like to say a word of praise on behalf of Mr. Woodruff, Commissioner of Customs, to whose untiring exertions and indomitable pluck the present calm is mainly due. We needed a firm hand at the tiller during the late storm, and certainly Mr. Woodruff has proved that he can navigate his craft in most tempestuous seas. The dance (war) is over, but the fiddler has yet to be paid.

15th May.

IV.

[FROM A FRENCH MISSIONARY.]

In order to prevent misconception from incomplete and erroneous reports, I beg to give you the following particulars with regard to the recent outrage in Wuhu, which have been furnished by Fathers Havret and Debrix, just arrived by the *Tehhsing*.

For the last three years the Catholic missionaries had been living peacefully in that city which was their centre for the management in the province of Anhui. Neither themselves nor their Christians had ever had any difficulty with the people, and nothing whatever had happened that could make us foresee the last sudden and unprovoked outrage.

On the evening of Sunday, 10th May, two Christian ladies employed by the Mission, had gone out of their establishment and were crossing one of the streets of the quarter south of the canal, not far from the Taotai's yamên, when they were suddenly set upon, brutally arrested and dragged to the office of the local police officer (保甲局). They were accused of having bewitched two children by the use of a drug (迷藥); and in proof of the charge, two children, five and seven years old, were brought forward, who it was said had been their victims.

The police officer was glad of an occasion of showing his zeal in favour of the accusers, and in the night he had the two ladies transferred to the tribunal of the Chehsien.

The English Consul, Mr. Ford, applied to by the missionaries, requested the Taotai to interfere, but he contented himself with saying that *it was a serious affair which he must let take its course*.

The mob, in spite of the great distance, had followed the prisoners to the Chehsien's office and was waiting for that magistrate's verdict.

The Chehsien about midnight had both parties brought to his tribunal. After a summary examination in which the two ladies gave the most formal denial to the charge of having drugged the children, the Chehsien gave a provisory verdict, viz., that "the prisoners would be set at liberty as soon as the use of speech was restored to the children," for it would seem that the magical power of those poor girls had the effect of making the two witnesses dumb.

In the course of Monday, the children had no patience to obey any longer the orders they had received ; they spoke and thus relieved the Chehsien from his engagement. About 2 p.m. he came himself to congratulate the Catholic missionaries and announce the release of the ladies, who in fact returned home about 4 p.m.

It was perfectly clear that it had been a scheme prepared beforehand. As early as the evening of Sunday, the Customs authorities were informed that sinister rumours were spread in the Taotai's quarter and that there was a plot to make a rush against the European quarter. They therefore sent word to the missionaries of the danger, and invited them, on the first sign, to repair to the offices of the Customs, from thence to be taken on board a steamer which was then loading rice in the river.

In spite, however, of these well-founded rumours, the whole of Monday and the morning of the Tuesday passed without any outbreak. Nothing foreboded the storm at hand and the calumnies circulated in the tea-houses and other public establishments were no signs of the riot that was preparing underhand.

On Tuesday then, at 1 p.m., an unknown woman presented herself at the Mission, followed by some twenty ill-looking fellows. Screaming out violently, she claimed her child *whom the missionaries had stolen, as they had done in the case of two others whose corpses were within the walls of the Catholic establishment.*

This was the signal for a new attack. This the missionaries understood at once and they went to beg Mr. Ford to appeal to the conscience of Chang Taotai ; after which they came home to set in order some urgent affairs.

In the meantime the mob was increasing in numbers and they began to surround the walls. About 3 p.m., on the request of the missionaries, a military officer had come to the rescue, and had taken hold of one of the assailants who was just trying to break open a door with a stone. At the same time the Chehsien, also applied to by the missionaries, made his way with great difficulty through the mob and stood before the main entrance, where he harangued the people who were already uttering out hostile cries. These magistrates both declared they would be trampled to death rather than abandon their post. In fact they remained to the last.

The wild clamour, however, fast increasing, was approaching nearer and nearer. About 4 p.m. the Chehsien informed the missionaries that he felt unable to restrain the mob ; the English Consul ought to appeal again to the Taotai.

Mr. Ford, on being applied to, answered that the Taotai knew everything. But no one came, and such is the part taken by the first Chinese magistrate in defence of the Catholic Mission.

At 5 p.m. there began to fall stones and brickbats within the walls. The Chehsien sent to the missionaries, beseeching them to take refuge in the English Consulate, only separated from them by a narrow street. But they refused, unwilling as they were uselessly to compromise a family as innocent as themselves.

At last at 5.50 p.m. one of the side doors of the façade gave way. The three European missionaries who were still in the establishment thought it was time to slip out by a back door. On their way they were insulted in the coarsest language, the qualification of *Kuai-tse* (拐子, children thieves), being predominant.

On board the hulk of the T'ai-ku Co. they were most graciously received by Mr. Weatherstone, but unwilling further to compromise a company which had already had so much to suffer from Chinese brigands, they went into a small boat which took them to Chinkiang.

Before leaving the hulk, the missionaries witnessed the burning of all the buildings of their establishment. Two telegrams for Shanghai entrusted on that same evening to Mr. Weatherstone, together with another handed to the agent on the following morning, were refused, on the plea that the Taotai had forbidden sending any despatch from the Catholic missionaries.

On their arrival at Chinkiang on Thursday, the missionaries heard that the fire of the Tuesday had been followed by a pillage as complete as shameful, without any interference of the Chinese authorities.

The doctor of the Protestant Mission who came down with Fathers Havret and Debrix, assured them that the tombs of two missionaries had been broken open.

V.

The following is a literal translation of the placard posted up at Wuhu since the riot, referred to in Mr. Walley's letter :—

The country is betrayed and the people are ruined! Human beings are trampled down and reduced to dust! Such being the state of affairs we humbly beg to state the following. Wuhu is a treaty port thickly populated with foreigners, who cause people injury to such an extent that it is impossible for the pen to fully describe. Lately the Roman Catholic Mission are building churches in every portion of the place. Every convert is paid a monthly sum of \$6 and it is by such means that ignorant males and females are led to enter the churches where men and women congregate together without discrimination. This breach of morality and custom is in itself a violation of the fixed laws of the State. Now women are procured from other places and are paid to abduct children whose eyes and intestines are taken out and whose heart and kidneys are cut off. What crimes have these innocent children committed that they should suffer such horrible deaths! What makes it more lamentable is that when a child is stolen the child's family also perish. The loss of one's own flesh and blood is so deeply felt that the acute mental pain drives one to wish for death—quick apoplexy or suicide generally follows. But their (Roman Catholics) sins have reached the limit and the vengeance of Heaven is ready to burst forth. On the 3rd of this moon two female child thieves went to Honan (South side of the River) and abducted a child by drugging him. The child's mother saw the act and called out to the child, but the child was unable to speak, looking stultified. The people, on apprehending the two abductresses, discovered on their persons two bottles containing drugs for stupefying children. The female child thieves were taken to *Pao-chia-chu*—street patrol's office—and from there to the magistrate's yamén. The Roman Catholic church priests hearing of the matter at once sent a bribe of 600 taels to the magistrate, who on receiving the money returned the two abductresses in sedan chairs to the church. The priests of the Roman Catholic church steal and kill Chinese children and their crimes should have been expiated with death punishment; but the god of wealth bought off their lives. Money is superior

to law, the precious code and golden rules are misapplied. It shows the [magistrate's] intention of exterminating our Chinese race, and of assisting the barbarian thieves. The following day Li Sh'en-shuen lost a child three years old, and Wang Wan-fah a child aged five years. But this is more marvellous, a one year old child belonging to a woman by the surname of Shen, was lying in a cradle in the room and disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, cradle and all, without leaving behind the slightest trace. The devilish tricks are so numerous that people are in despair of protecting their lives. The two fathers and the mothers who lost their children proceeded to the Roman Catholic church to look for their missing ones. They perceived several carcasses and dried bones of young children and also four underground cells. These discoveries caused suspicious thoughts and the people were requested to make a search and examination. The barbarians, with their thieving conscience stricken and their hearts fluttering, bribed the petty military mandarin Yao with forty taels, who accordingly despatched forty soldiers to keep guard over the church's entrance. Swords were freely used on those who attempted entrance. A Chinese official indeed! rendering barbarians help to injure his native countrymen! Two men were wounded with sword cuts on the head, blood trickling down all over their face. The hearts of the people rebelled at such an outrage. The devils' nest is torn down and burnt. The officials turned against the petty people, arrested some and threw them in prison with their hands and feet tied. This extraordinary occurrence originated from the officials and not from the people. The officials compelled the people to create a disturbance and the people could not but produce a riot. Now the tens of thousands of the people of Wuhu, do you, on the 20th day, with united hearts and combined strength destroy the Roman Catholic Church (天主堂) and the Protestant Church (耶穌堂) and all the properties owned by them! When these are destroyed no rebuilding will ever be permitted. Destroy again as soon as they rebuild. Chase out all the barbarian thieves, then can we rise and ascend the mats (meaning from unhappiness to happiness). Should any of the race be left here we can never arrive at the happy [stage or place]. Only the Roman Catholic church is to be

destroyed but do not touch the Customs. If you injure the Customs you will not escape the arm of the law. Know and remember this !

The public community of the whole of Wuhu.

N.B.—Those who rent the houses belonging to the churches, are warned to remove immediately to other places so as to avoid being involved when the time comes.

Drive away the evil [so that].

The good may remain in peace.

NANKING RIOT.

I.

The chief theme of conversation on the streets here for some days past have been the riots at Yangchow and Wuhu. Considerable insolence is manifested in certain quarters towards foreigners, and the old-time stories of the practices of the Roman Catholic missionaries have been freely circulated. A rumour prevailed in Wuhu for a time that the Wuhu priests had fled to Nanking, and threats were made by the rioters of following them to this city, which naturally increased the excitement here. The people here very generally ascribe the uprising to that well-known secret society, the Ko-lao (哥老), which is very strong at Wuhu and indeed throughout this whole district. Many officials, even some of high rank, are openly accused of belonging to it. How correct these reports may be it is of course impossible to say, but they find ready credence. It is commonly reported here that the 20th of the present Chinese moon has been fixed upon for further rioting at Wuhu. No reliance is of course to be placed in rumours, but it is a coincidence worth noting that yesterday a neatly printed placard was posted on the M. E. Hospital of this city with the following warning :—

不 行 要 之 取 內 十
要 的 憂 人 外 一 天
喜 人 洋 不 頭 起 之

Shih t'ien chi nei i-k'i shou

Wai-t'ou chi jen puh yao yu

Yang hang tih jen puh yao hi.

"Within ten days they will all be taken ; outside men will have nothing to be alarmed about ; men in foreign hong's will have nothing to be pleased about."

The ten days mentioned would just bring it to the 20th of the Chinese month.

The settled residents of Nanking as a rule seem to be favourably disposed toward foreigners, but there is a large floating population containing a great many adventurers and other restless spirits, who would be glad of any opportunity to plunder. It is true we have a large army in the city, but the soldiers are nearly all Hunan men and more than suspected of connection with the secret society mentioned above. They are decidedly anti-foreign in their views and have shown their disposition in the several outrages committed by them at the foreign burying ground here. Since my last letter these outrages have been repeated ; the wall has been further damaged and a grave again disturbed. The officials seem unwilling to take any further action in the matter, but the American Consul at Chinkiang has been notified and will without doubt secure redress.

19th May.

II.

I have been very sceptical as to any real trouble here at Nanking until yesterday afternoon, when we received warning from two separate sources, both official, that the danger is real and imminent, that the threatened riot will take place on Wednesday next as arranged. We were advised, too, in a semi-official way, that the soldiers are unreliable, the Taotai of the Foreign Office out of the city, and that there may be doubts as to the ability of the officials to protect us, and that as a measure of safety our wives and children should be sent away. Such a step may unfortunately encourage the rioters, but as our Consuls have so far been unable to furnish us a gunboat and there are no hulks here to flee to, as at the open ports, it seems unwise to neglect this warning and advice. Consequently the ladies and children are planning to leave the city to-day. The male part of the community will, with one or two unavoidable exceptions, remain here. We look daily for the *Palos*.

25th May.

NGANKIN RIOT.

[FROM A FRENCH MISSIONARY.]

The events at Wuhu have nearly had a serious repetition at Ngankin. On Thursday, the 14th, rumour spread through the town that the Taotai of Wuhu had forwarded to the authorities a long despatch in which he stated as true the calumnious and infamous deeds laid at the door of the missionaries. From another source, the passengers who arrived by the steamers helped by their accounts and their excitement to irritate the inhabitants of the capital. On the morning of Saturday, the 16th, placards were already posted, especially in the neighbouring quarters of the western gate.

These placards said that on that day they were going to settle the old quarrel with the Catholic Mission, and that, if they were not successful on the 16th, they would begin again on the 18th.

About 10 o'clock in the morning certain individuals forced open the doors of the missionaries' house and refused to listen to the request politely made to them by the servants to withdraw. One of the missionaries then came forward and told them that strangers were not allowed that day to visit the house unless they came as representatives of the authorities of the town. The intruders slowly retired, and the door was shut. But at the same time information was sent to the nearest yamên and help asked for. The help arrived, and it was time; the crowd steadily increased, and in a short time, several hundreds of persons arrived from all sides, and massed themselves around the house and the orphanage of the Mission. During the whole day the position was a very critical one. There were several alarms; they tried to break upon the door of the orphanage. Fortunately one of the assailants was at once seized and punished on the spot by the Chinese officer on duty; then the arrival in succession of about fifteen mandarins, of whom some were of a high grade, kept back the crowd till the evening.

Meanwhile, the Catholic Mission was not alone in danger. A crowd equally great attacked the Inland Mission situated at the northern gate. The Chinese authorities arrived in time at this second point of danger, and so for this day further mischief was

prevented. On the morning of the 17th the rioters changed their tactics. Women came to the doors of the orphanage to reclaim the children whom they had long before handed over to the Mission. It is true that all this was done very quietly, but this concourse of people looked dangerous, and the authorities were requested to take further precautions. At this moment the missionaries, knowing that a French man-of-war was at Wuhu, telegraphed to the English Consul at that town, asking him to inform the captain of the danger they were in. An answer was received a few hours later announcing the departure of the *Inconstant*, under Captain de Jonquières, who was making for Ngankin. This intelligence was immediately made known to the Chinese authorities. On the morning of the 18th the *Inconstant* anchored below the walls of the town, not far from the house of the missionaries. The captain at once received a letter from the Fathers informing him of the state of affairs. Besides he was himself already on the way in a steam-launch to get intelligence. He went on board again to write a letter to the Governor of the town, assuring him of his peaceable intentions and of his desire to act in concert with the Chinese authorities to maintain order and put down the riot. But he made it understood that if the rioters did not listen to the magistrate, as was the cause at Wuhu, he would not hesitate to take strong measures, leaving the responsibility of any further consequences to rest in the proper quarter. The Governor replied that order would be maintained and that there was no need of alarm. He ordered the Taotai to go the next day and carry from him this assurance to the captain of the *Inconstant*.

As a matter of fact on the 18th perfect quiet seemed to prevail in the town. On the 19th the German gunboat *Illis*, Captain Ascher, which was coming down the river, anchored also below the walls of Ngankin. In the forenoon the two captains, accompanied by some officers, came together to the house of the missionaries. They informed the Taotai that he could pay his visit there. He came there with his suite and the interview was a most amicable one. At the same time the Superior-General of the Mission, who had arrived the same morning, thought that he ought to make known very forcibly the incidents of which he was a witness at Wuhu, at the house which he had left

only when it was set on fire. From this simple statement was clearly shown the share of each one's responsibility in this lamentable event.

After having visited the Mission and its buildings the European officers returned on board, escorted by the guard of the Chinese mandarin.

The following night Captain Ascher received from the German Minister at Peking orders to leave at once for Kiukiang. On the morning of the 20th, Captain de Jonquierès came ashore alone to return the Taotai's visit.

At the present moment, all danger is not at end. Placards posted up this evening announce for Friday, the 22nd, the total destruction of all the buildings of the Mission.

20th May.

TANYANG RIOT.

The *North-China Daily News* received from Père Colombel, Curé of the Church of St. Joseph at Shanghai, the following particulars of the recent riots at Tanyang :—

Sunday, 31st May.—Whilst the procession of idols passed off without any outward incident at Chinkiang, thanks to the presence of the *Inconstant* and *Swift*, there were already rumours at Tanyang of the coming outbreak.

Monday, 1st June.—The Father in charge at Tanyang dispersed his scholars and the orphans under his charge among the Christian families in the surrounding country. The Chehsien was absent, being at Soochow on a visit to the Futai. In the afternoon a crowd began to surround the Mission buildings. A military mandarin, named Heang, came about 4 o'clock with some soldiers. Twice he succeeded in ejecting the crowd and closing the gates, but he was soon overpowered. As he was acting energetically, the crowd directed all their attacks at him, whilst the Mission Father went about unmolested. At one time, indeed, when the Father interposed with a view to restraining those who were loudest in their denunciations of the mandarin, one of the rioters said, "I have nothing to do with you; I want to settle with him" (the official). At 5 o'clock the rioters were evidently masters of the situation, and the mandarin urged the priest to retire to the Chehsien's yamên. To do so he had to

pass through the crowd which filled the courtyard and the street. They looked at him with astonishment, but he was not even insulted. Then the besiegers proceeded very methodically to set fire to the church, the priest's residence, the boys' school and the other buildings. The orphanage being in close contact with houses not belonging to the Mission, it was not set on fire, but it was demolished and entirely ruined. During the first few hours there was very little pillage. Sailors belonging to gunboats were even seen stopping the robbers and forcing them to throw their plunder into the flames. But when the fire had nearly burnt itself out there was a general rush. Beggars, opium smokers, boatmen and others all set to work to possess themselves of whatever was portable—half-burnt wood, stones, tiles, bricks, all were carried off.

At one end of the enclosure, which is a very large one, there is a cemetery in which it has been the custom for a very long time to inter Christians of the town and children of the orphanage. The rioters dug up the bones and heaped them together. They put the heads in a pile and dragged the mandarin Heang to the spot, hauling him along, it is said, by his queue. One poor skeleton, on which there still remained some flesh and a few shreds of clothing, was carried off and hung up in front of the priest's door, which looks out on the canal and a busy street. These outrageous doings were performed to the accompaniment of the usual calumnious and abusive shouts.

The Father was received in the *yamên* by the secretary of the absent Chehsien, and well treated. On the following morning he was put on board a junk, in company with two runners, and arrived at Chinkiang at noon.

Nothing was left standing in the enclosure—trees, bamboos, walls, even the hedge, were razed to the ground.

These details are furnished by letters dated Wednesday, 1st June. The priests at Chinkiang expressed themselves in fear for the safety of the smaller churches, seven in number, in the country round Tanyang. On Thursday, at 5 p.m., a telegram arrived from Chinkiang, worded as follows:—"Tanyang campagne, églises, Chrétiens ruinés." Letters will no doubt furnish further details.

WUSUEH RIOT.

I.

A shocking piece of news has just come in from Wusueh, a city twenty-five miles above us here. Full and exact particulars have not yet come to hand, but I give you what I have learnt. What was the origin of the trouble is not certain and will perhaps never be known. Most likely there was no cause at all any more than at Wuhu, Nanking and other places. The stock story was put about that the foreigner had killed a child. Mr. Green of the Customs, and Mr. Argent, a missionary of the Wesleyan Mission, a young man who has only been in China a few months, were the victims to the rage of the mob. They were killed, it is said, in a very brutal manner, their heads being crushed between heavy stones. Full particulars as to the truth or otherwise of these accounts are not yet to hand. The steamer which rescued the ladies and children demanded the bodies, but the Chinese did not give them up; the officials stating that they could not be found. The riot apparently broke out in the night and quite unexpectedly; the officials, it seems, rescued the ladies and children and sent them on board the steamer *Teh-hsing*. It is also rumoured that the church has been burnt. The U.S. gunboat *Palos* very fortunately came along an hour after the news arrived here; the Consul boarded her and she went on up without dropping anchor. She ought to bring the bodies back for burial to-morrow. There is great indignation expressed by the foreigners on all hands. Surely this rioting has reached a critical stage! Is it possible that the British and other governments will allow this to pass by unpunished! Dollars paid as indemnity will restore wrecked property but all the silver of China will not bring these dead to life again. What are British officials in high office going to do?

There are several more missionaries just inland from Wusueh. The husbands of the three ladies were all away at out-stations when the riot broke out.

Kiukiang, 6th June.

II.

The wave of riot has rolled along the Yangtze until it has reached our province. Thirty miles above Kiukiang is an

important trading town called Wusueh, at which the steamers stop in mid-stream for passengers. Here the Wesleyan Mission has been peaceably established for nearly twenty years, so peaceably that one is never called "Foreign devil" on the streets, ladies go out without foreign escort, often even for thirty miles inland to Kuangchi Hsien, where also a married missionary lives. The hills immediately opposite Wusueh have been selected for the mission sanatorium. In Wusueh itself, there are two Mission houses in the same compound. On Friday evening last, June 5th, ladies only occupied the premises, both ill, together with their children and another lady, a visitor, the husbands being away at different stations. An invalid was occupying the bungalow, and Mr. Argent, who arrived from England six months ago and had been taking care of the convalescent, came down to Wusueh to catch a steamer for Hankow. As he was obliged to wait for a day or two, the steamers being delayed, he spent the time at the rooms of Mr. Green, the resident officer of the Imperial Customs. Late in the afternoon four men took another to the yamèn, declaring that they had found him coming into Wusueh with two baskets containing four young babies. These he professed to have collected around Kuangchi for the Roman Catholic Foundling Home at Kiukiang, and he asserted that eight other men were similarly occupied in the Hsien. The mandarin insisted on these four men affirming their names to the information,—which they declined, and the case was dismissed. Babies carried in baskets away from their mothers for many miles all through a boiling hot day would naturally be little likely to survive a further steamer journey. One cannot but guess that the whole was a plot for the express purpose of rousing the mob. At any rate, plot or no, the plan succeeded. The crowd set on the man and in the scuffle smothered one of the babies. Instantly the cry was raised, "They will take the baby to the Wesleyan Mission to make medicine of."

A rush was made for the Mission compound. The ladies hearing the scurry thought first of a fire, then of a theft, but almost instantly stones began to crash in their windows and on their attempting to find a safer place it was discovered that the house was on fire—probably through the upsetting of lamps by the shower of stones. They collected the children and had just taken shelter in a latticed toolhouse in the garden, when all the

doors were burst in and the rabble, instead of going to the house, catching sight of their white dresses, rushed at them with stones and bamboos. The ladies driven out rushed down a passage and out at a back door where the natives did not attempt to stop them. Probably the sight of the flaming house induced their pursuers to return after loot. Reaching the Mission chapel they took refuge there for a short while, but a howling mob was on them striking, kicking, stoning. All got separated, one baby in the arms of a catechist was the butt for blows which he fended off as long as possible; its life was then saved by his tossing it to a native woman, after which it was lost for an hour until its amah claimed it from the strange motherly arms. The other children were saved in the houses of native Christians. One lady had a heavy blow which broke her head open, and she fell for an instant, bruising her eye, but instantly recovered herself and rushed on; the others were also badly bruised, kicked and struck. First two of them and then another by herself attempted to get refuge in the *yamên* of the Ma Ko-sze, but on each occasion the doors were shut in their faces, and they were driven back into the crowd. In pleasant contrast to this was the action of the Lung Ping-sze who urged the crowd to stop their work, offering his own person and *yamên* for vicarious violence. The crowd accepted the challenge, burnt his *yamên* and beat him heavily, but continued their hunt for the foreigners. Finally two ladies and one child found their way down a quiet lane to a mat hut, whose occupants on the promise of reward hid them in the back of the hut, calmly continuing smoking and chatting at the doors. Messengers were sent to the Christians of their whereabouts, and first the third lady was brought to join them; presently runners were sent who conducted them to the *yamên* of the deputy prefect. This man had taken no notice of three distinct appeals for assistance at the beginning of the riot, but now did his best to make the refugees comfortable. They surely needed it, for some were in mere night clothes; but the speedy restoration of the equally thinly clad children removed the worst horror from the mothers' minds. Meanwhile Messrs. Argent and Green saw the glare, and fearing the fire was near the Mission came running at full speed to help. They were met by the servants who told them that the ladies were gone, but couldn't make them understand that there was a riot and that it would be dangerous to go on. Mr. Argent was at

once set on by a number of men ; he took refuge in a leather shop close to the chapel where his assailants continued to attack. The shopman bade them not to kill him there but take him outside ; they instantly dragged him out and a blow from a coolie's bamboo split his head open, the blood spurting on to his servant who vainly tried to save him. They were mad with rage, set on him, pounded the head on the stones and mauled the body badly. Happily, we may feel sure he felt none of it all. Mr. Green ran away and took refuge in the midst of a pond where he kept them at bay for an hour or more. Then he got to land and was killed near the yamên whither he was running for refuge. In their rage they treated his body worse even than Mr. Argent's, the face being unrecognisable.

Next morning early the *Teh-hsing* came up river and Captain Cain received the refugees ; with the greatest kindness he anchored for some hours until a message could be sent up to the bungalow and Mr. Fortune, who was ill there, could return. Naturally great anxiety was felt about the safety of the missionaries inland, especially of those in Kuangchi itself whence the rumour was supposed to have come. Happily, as we now know, the Kuangchi family are safe guarded in their own house to be escorted to the foreign gunboat on its arrival, and the missionaries from Kichow and Huangszekang have also reached Hankow in safety. The only one yet not heard of is the Rev. F. Boden of Wusueh, but his country journey is not likely to have led him into serious risk. Captain Cain met the down-coming *Fuhwo* and sent messages to Kiukiang ; the U.S.S. gunboat *Palos* was at once sent up to Wusueh and telegrams sent to Hankow. H.B.M. Consul, Mr. Gardner, at once communicated with the authorities. There is no doubt of the determination of the Viceroy, for immediately rapid couriers were sent to the other places within a radius of a hundred and fifty miles where foreigners are settled, to warn the local officials and to insist on prompt repressive measures. Of course Hankow and Wuchang were full of the usual style of rumours, but stringent orders were instantly sent to the commanders of police and troops on both bank of the river, and the claim of security already confidently advanced on behalf of the capital of Hupeh may be cheerily maintained.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the authorities will press the punishment of this causeless and brutal riot rapidly. The mob

were evidently utterly mad and beyond control. It is happy that the two missionaries were not at home. When one of the ladies was in the clutches of the mob, some interfered and said, "Don't kill her, only beat her and make her tell where her husband is, we'll kill the men." There's no doubt that the crowd believe the story of the children—as nine-tenths of the Chinese in these three cities do to-day. But the sternest punishment will not be too much for the wicked men who took advantage of the folly of the ignorant, nor for the officials who refused help and shut doors in the face of defenceless women. If ever there was a call for stern, unbending justice it is here, when the brutal beating of ladies and children, and the killing of two young Englishmen in a town hitherto entirely and continuously friendly, call aloud for the strongest, sharpest lessons.

Wuchang, 8th June.

III.

I was able to send you only a very hurried account yesterday of the public funeral of Messrs. Argent and Green, the victims of the Wusueh riot. The funeral took place at 6 p.m., and though no procession was formed at the Consulate, it was rendered impressive by the presence of a hundred sailors from H.M.S. *Porpoise*, thirty from the French *Vipère*, and thirty from the German *Illis*. Unfortunately it was impossible to keep off an unsympathetic and curious crowd of Chinese onlookers, whose presence and occasional noise jarred upon the mourners. In addition to the red-buttoned military mandarin Ch'ang who came from Wuchang, the Taotai and other Hankow officials were present. It was, I suppose, too much to expect that they should take their places beside the foreign officials during the ceremony; but their remaining without seats in the sexton's lodge was scarcely the most dignified mode of assisting. It rather gave the idea that a disagreeable duty had perforce to be done, but they scarcely seemed to reflect the courtesy of their chief, the Viceroy. A file of marines fired its volleys over the open grave, Mr. Green having once been in the Royal Navy, and the great concourse of all creeds and nations broke up. May we never be compelled to see its like again.

Hankow, 13th June.

KIUKIANG RIOT.

On Sunday evening the long-expected attempt came off. As usual they made the "children" the occasion of the outbreak. The Romanist orphanage within the city was the scene of the first trouble. A great crowd collected around the number of children who were being sent into the country and to the hospital in the concession. The crowd increased and became noisy and did a little damage by tearing up shrubbery and breaking windows, but in five minutes, and before time was allowed for them to get really started, troops came in hot haste from three camps and immediately took possession. Guards were also thrown in and around the Mission property of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Soon after a great mob collected in the concession. The ladies and children were quietly and quickly removed to the Consulate and Custom House, and arms handed out to the residents, some thirty in number. In the meantime word was sent to the gunboats, three being fortunately in harbour, and armed boatloads of men were sent to the jetties ready to be landed at a second's notice. The mob was kept quiet by the presence of the foreigners in the back streets and on the Bund. On the back street the mob was the thickest. There one of the students harangued the crowd and urged them to go on and kill foreigners; said he, "What are we afraid of? We are many, the foreigners only few, and we can overpower them." With this they made a rush at the three foreigners stationed here, but Mr. Millar, chief of the police, knocked the student down and when he rose to renew the conflict Mr. Millar's revolver was pointed at his head and death threatened if they came on again. They prudently declined. But the mob increased; soon some eight or ten residents formed line and charged with the bayonet and drove thousands before them and out of the settlement. In the meantime the Taotai with a great following of troops poured in and every chance of the mob destroying property or taking life was gone. The Chinese soldiers were requested to clear the concession and close the barrier; they made some ineffectual attempts, so the residents took the work in hand and drove the crowd from all the streets at the point of the bayonet, and closed the barrier. Pickets of Chinese soldiers were posted everywhere and residents were under arms all night. To-day the concession was crowded and Chinese roamed all about but dared not break out, armed

foreigners being everywhere. As an instance of the value of the native soldiers in a conflict with the people, one of the "braves" started to move on a crowd, but they would not be moved and finally the soldier pushed one of them who turned round and cursed him, whereat the soldier made a polite bow. Other braves ran up but did not seem to do much and it was not till the residents appeared with fixed bayonets that there was any stampede. All through the day matters have been thus. Troops have erected tents everywhere and are camping. To-night again at 7 o'clock the foreigners have had to clear the concession at the point of the bayonet and guards are stationed with ball ammunition. Nothing can take place to-night. All foreigners from the city were removed into the concession this afternoon, and are in safety. People are getting a little wearied out with this much watching and patrolling ; it will have to stop some way soon. There is no danger here, we are strong, well armed and prepared ; the residents with the help of the sailors can drive off ten thousand. The excitement will doubtless last some time yet, but everything is well in hand. The great popular festival of the Dragon Lanterns begins on Thursday ; there may be a little trouble then, and again during the military examinations which begin in a few days, but the officials are all alarmed and are doing their very best. Of course the Chinese are talking a good deal, but they can't do anything. They had better try and they will learn a sharp lesson. Sailors and foreigners mean business. The *Inconstant* is drawn up between the hulks close in shore and can rake the Bund ; armed crews are ready to land two or three minutes after the signal from shore has been given. Everything is perfectly quiet at this time of writing.

Kiukiang, 8th June.

WUSIEH RIOT.

I.

Telegrams were received here on Monday night and Tuesday morning (8th and 9th June) to the effect that a mob had attacked and destroyed the Jesuit Mission at Wusieh near the Tahu. No lives were lost. The rioters were probably the same people who attacked the Roman Catholic Mission at Tanyang on the 2nd instant. Tanyang is between Chinkiang and Wusieh. The latter is an important town on the Grand Canal, and is the principal scene of the operations for the purchase of cocoons for

the silk filatures in Shanghai. A Shanghai resident, who was at Wusieh a fortnight ago, had a conversation with two of the Fathers and visited the school, in which about forty boys were at work. The Fathers were told of the outbreak at Nanking, but expressed no fears on their own account, Wusieh being then perfectly quiet. The church is a very handsome one for China, and there are some 4,000 converts in the city and neighbourhood.

A telegram received on Tuesday evening (9th June) mentioned that all was quiet at Wusieh, and there does not appear to be any ground for the rumour that a large part of the town has been burnt.

The following letter on this painful subject was received :—

SIR,—We have received telegrams informing us of a new outbreak, at Wusieh. As far as can be understood from these telegrams, on the afternoon of 8th June a band of miscreants reduced the church, dwelling house and schools to ashes, but without killing anyone.

Wusieh is on the Grand Canal, at an equal distance from Soochow and Changchow. It is the centre of a section of our Mission which is attended to by six Fathers, and which has over 10,000 Christians and 60 chapels. We had there our largest church, with a boys' school which counted often 100 pupils, and a girls' school still more numerously attended.

One of the telegrams says that of all this nothing remains standing.

It seems very much as if these deeds were committed by men obeying a word of command in an organised scheme—by a band which has travelled from Chinkiang to Tanyang along the Grand Canal, and next to Wusieh by the same channel. These evil-doers have evidently orders to do what they have done—destroy so many schools without taking lives.

What can be their object? Where will they appear next? We shall soon, no doubt, have fuller particulars.

I am, etc.,

AUG. M. COLOMBEL, S.J.

9th June.

II.

By the courtesy of Père Colombel we are enabled to give the following further details :—

To begin with the preliminary signs, as soon as the incendiarism at Tanyang became known, it was announced that there would be another at Wusieh. Strangers speaking an Upper Yangtze dialect, appeared in the city, spreading the usual calumnies and stirring up the people to set fire to the church. This was so fully expected that the large rice shops had to cease their work of preparing the grain, the workmen expecting to have their share of the booty.

On Sunday, 7th June, the Father at the Mission sent to warn the Chehsien, who replied verbally, "Make your minds easy; there will be no disturbance. The people are well disposed here, and if the Europeans do not go away there will be no breach of of the peace." At the request of the Father, the Chehsien promised to send two gun-junks to places in the neighbourhood, in order to prevent any excitement. He also sent for two *tipaos* and made them responsible for the peace of the district.

At the same time Father Tschepe, the superior of this section of the Mission, was at Kiangyin, which was more threatened than Wusieh. He made representations to the officials at Kiangyin and Changcha, but without result.

On the morning of Monday, 8th June, the school children had all been sent away. The burial service was read over a Christian who had died the night before. After the mass, the coffin was placed in another room of the church, ordinarily used for the purpose, together with that of a child which had died that morning. After the service, the rioters began to arrive in groups, without shouts or outcries. They filled the court-yard of the church and could not be induced to go away. The Father again sent to warn the mandarins. His messenger returned with the information that the two *hsiens* at Wusieh and two or three other officials were on the way to his assistance. They came, but not to the actual scene of the trouble, stationing themselves on the other side of a wide canal. They were accompanied by a crowd, in which some strangers, said to be Hunan men, were heard crying out: "The officials are going to destroy the church; let us help them." These words produced the desired effect, hindering the officials and exciting the mob. A single official of inferior

rank, accompanied by seven or eight men, entered the priest's residence, followed by an immense crowd. He got out of his chair, produced a folding stool, sat down, took his water-pipe and fan, surveyed the crowd and excused himself from doing anything, on the ground that his superiors were absent. At one time he certainly showed a little energy. Turning back his cuffs, he called out to the crowd to go away, but no one obeyed. Finally, after waiting for superiors who never came, he said that as the mob had come in with him, it would go out with him. He accordingly went away, but the rioters remained. They soon began to break in the doors and windows. Some converts who attempted to stop them received wounds. Forty or fifty soldiers entered the priest's courtyard and drove out the mob, but at the same time the girls' school was set on fire. The soldiers immediately abandoned the place to the rioters, without making a single effort to stop them.

While the priest was defending his house, the girls' school was attacked. For some time no entrance could be effected, but at last a stranger taunting the crowd with their ill-success, shouted out that he would show them the way to go to work, and with a big stone broke open one of the back doors. The only persons remaining in the orphanage were a few Chinese *religieuses*, who at first ran some danger but were soon allowed to escape. The building was then methodically set on fire with gunpowder and oil, evidently brought expressly for the purpose. The church, and next the priest's house, were then kindled by the same means, with such effect that nothing was left but ruins. The church was the largest and most richly decorated belonging to the Mission.

The principal authors of the attack were men speaking an Upper Yangtze dialect, being probably Hunan men. They were not numerous, but were certainly the ring-leaders. Their influence in stirring up the people, their determined action during the attack, and their sudden disappearance as soon as the torch had been applied, are worthy of remark. The numerous rice-shop men, most of whom are from the north of Kiangsi (Kongpoyuen), had stopped work for two or three days, anticipating plunder. They were the most active workers throughout the riot. As soon as the fire had obtained a hold, an immense crowd of plunderers, including soldiers, swooped down upon the place, without let or

hindrance. Christians attempted to stop some of these wretches, laden with the spoils of the church, and take them before the officials.

The coffin containing the dead child was carried off and placed, it is said, in front of the mandarins. That of the woman was broken open. The rioters attempted, by means of blows with bricks and stones, to make the eyes fall out of the head, regardless of the entreaties of the dead woman's husband, children and other relations. When the priest, escaping in a junk, passed the cemetery, he saw the wretches digging up the bodies of children, which they savagely mutilated, cutting the arms and plucking out the eyes.

During the 8th Father Tschepe left Kiangyin for Wusieh, but learning on the way that the outrage had already been accomplished, he betook himself to saving the other Christian communities—a circumstance which led to the report of his death being circulated. The church at Kiangyin was most in danger. The same threats as at Wusieh were made use of, and the house and school were surrounded. The Father, with the help of the Mission employes, drove the mob out, and when the mandarin saw that the defenders were able to hold their own, he sent soldiers, who, with the Father's example before them, had no difficulty in keeping the place from harm.

Unfortunately, in the two prefectures of Wusieh and Kiangyin, the Mission has over sixty churches. We have already learnt that twenty of these have been burnt; and it is said that a native priest has been slightly wounded and that two or three Christians have been killed. The Viceroy of Nanking has sent an official named Yu, to take the place, it is understood, of Liu Tsi-yu. He has visited the ruins in company with Father Tschepe. The Futai at Soochow has sent a delegate to arrange this sad business.

ICHANG RIOT.

I.

The following telegrams were received in Shanghai on Wednesday, 2nd, and Thursday, 3rd September:—

Ichang, 2nd September, 3.50 p.m.

Riot to-day at noon. Missions and all foreign property burnt. No lives lost. *Paohua* in port.

Ichang, 3rd September, 6.15 p.m.

There was no warning of any trouble. The American and Catholic Missions, and Messrs. Cain's, Aldridge's, and Deans' houses are burned, and Mr. Cockburn's looted. The Franciscan Sisters, and one of the Fathers, are badly hurt. All are now on board the *Paohua*. The Customs are armed.

II.

For several months a riot at Ichang has been feared by those having access to reliable sources of information, yet at 6.30 p.m. on Wednesday, 2nd September, it came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, taking the most wary by surprise, and the programme was carried out with a thoroughness and dispatch which are altogether unprecedented. There was no indication of danger until the signal of attack was given, and in twenty minutes all was over. Nothing was left to chance; everything was carefully planned and in no sense can the Ichang riot be attributed to popular excitement or the rash act of a European. The pretext for collecting a crowd was cunningly devised. On Tuesday, 1st September, a child was brought to the Roman Catholic convent, and the ordinary papers were duly signed making it over to the Sisters. The child was represented to be a girl (only girls were received at the convent), and when it was discovered to be a boy, the circumstance caused some uneasiness. On Wednesday morning parties appeared at the convent declaring their child had been stolen, and saying it was within. In due course the child was produced and delivered to the claimants. Meanwhile a crowd had collected, but nothing serious was suspected, although, as was proper under the circumstances, information was sent to the magistrate. But the ringleaders had also gone clamouring to the *yamên*, collecting the dregs of the city as they went along. Instead of shutting the *yamên* doors and keeping all parties concerned under restraint until the case was investigated, the magistrate with his runners and body guard proceeded to the convent, taking the crowd from the city along with him. The military commandant of the rank of *Chéntai* was also on the scene with a large number of soldiers, and some show was made of protecting the convent. All at once a rush was made for the house in the adjoining compound belonging to the American

Episcopal Mission. The gate was smashed in ; two trumpets were blown, and a man beating his breast shouted out : "Come on brothers, slay the foreigners ; I am willing to die for you."

* * * * *

In came the rioters with a rush ; one of the foremost men snatching a spade from a coolie and aiming a murderous blow at Mr. Sowerby, who managed to disarm this assailant and evade another. The coolies shouted at him to run for his life, and none too soon, for the mob was of the most desperate character and bent on murder from the very first. By jumping a fence and running for life Mr. Sowerby was just able to reach the Consulate in an exhausted condition, with a sprained ankle, and exposed hatless to the midday sun. From the Consulate Mr. Sowerby was able to get on board the *Paohua* with no further adventure.

To set fire to the American Mission house was the work of an instant, and as soon as the signal of destruction was given yamèn runners and soldiers fell back, nor did either military or civil mandarins give a single order to protect life or property. It is particularly to be noted that against Mr. Sowerby, whose house was the first to be burned, there was not even the semblance of a grudge. In less time than it takes to write it, the torch was applied to the convent, the Sisters, seven in number, and of various nationalities (French, German and British) escaping as best they could down a lane to the river, escorted by Father Braun, a very powerful man, and formerly an officer in the German army. To give them their due, officials and soldiers also escorted the Sisters. The mandarins seemed to receive some rough usage ; the Chên-tai's hat being knocked off, an indignity which the natives speak of with bated breath and evidently consider of more gravity than everything else that has occurred. As soon as the steep bank of the river was reached, the Sisters were thrown headlong over it by the very soldiers who had aided in their protection so far, an incident fortunately noticed on board the *Paohua* which was anchored opposite, and Captain Lewis instantly launched a boat, which proceeded to the rescue and found the Sisters and Father Braun exposed to the full fury of a shower of missiles, in a sampan without oars into which they had scrambled. The ship's boat took the sampan in tow and the whole party were soon in safety on board the *Paohua* which had steam up to run down any boat-loads of rioters who

might attempt to board, and was defended by the repeating rifles of Captain Lewis, Mr. Moore and Mr. Grouleff. Right down to the river bank the orphans in the convent had clung to the Sisters, but here they were violently seized by the soldiers and kept back. It is suspected that a number of children must have been burned in the convent: one, unable to walk, could not have escaped. On reaching the *Paohua* the Sisters presented a pitiable sight, their long robes being covered with blood, and one has been so badly wounded that she is still unable to rise. Father Braun, who acted nobly throughout, shielding the Sisters with his own person, has received a very severe cut on the head, not to mention contusions and bruises all over the body.

From the convent the rioters made a rush to the river front and went tearing down the Bund, the ringleaders armed with pickaxes and knives, the rest with such weapons as they could lay their hands on.

Down the lane at the end of the Consulate and along the street in front of it they swept with the violence of a tropical storm, but not a finger was lifted against the Consulate. The house, owned by a native—a mandarin's secretary—in which the Rev. Mr. Deans and Dr. Pirie of the Church of Scotland Mission lived; Captain Cain's house (empty), the mat shed in front of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co.'s godown, Mr. Creagh's house inhabited by Dr. Aldridge of the Customs, and the Franciscan Mission, were fired simultaneously. The pickaxes made short work of the doors, and no time was wasted by the slightest attempt to loot. Mr. Cockburn was in a boat on the river within fifty yards of the scene and saw the whole thing done with a quickness and precision which leave no room no doubt that all had been planned beforehand and that each man knew exactly what to do, a conclusion which is forced home by the fewness of the number of the active rioters, not over half a hundred at the outside, and the strange coincidence that no attempt whatever was made to burn Mr. Cockburn's own house, which adjoins Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co.'s on the one side and Dr. Aldridge's on the other.

This is what took place at one house, and it is substantially what took place at all; as soon as the door was staved in, the boy was seized and at the risk of his life asked to point out where the foreigner kept his silver: "He keeps none, but changes Hankow

cheques. at the native cash shops." "Then, where is your kerosine tin?" and the house was blazing in an instant.

The plans were well laid, and, what is far more difficult to secure, the ringleaders kept perfect command all through the proceedings. As has been remarked, Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co.'s property was fired and the mat shed burned down. On this their Chinese agent and compradores fell on their knees and implored the rioters not to burn the godown as it contained only goods belonging to natives. The request was granted on condition that the goods were removed within three days, when the godown would be burned. A petition was also made that Mr. Cockburn's house might be spared as it adjoined the godown and the one would set fire to the other. A mandarin was also in Mr. Cockburn's compound vociferating: "Do not burn Mr. Cockburn's house, you all know him, he has been here over ten years and does works of charity (*hao-ss*); take anything you want, but do not burn his house." Some sinologue may be able to explain whether it be more honourable to have one's goods stolen than burned as being too vile for a Chinaman to handle. One fact is clear; the original plan was to loot and not to burn the house of the Rev. Mr. Cockburn, of the Church of Scotland Mission, with the celerity with which all others were fired by the ringleaders, who carried kerosine and gunpowder along with them. All entreaties to spare it came too late.

As for the Consulate, a native building belonging to Mr. Little, it was never attacked, and the Consul remained inside in perfect security. No pretence of protecting it by soldiers was made until all was over.

There is a shrewd suspicion that the ringleaders may have taken their cue from a remark of His Excellency the Viceroy of the Province, that those murdered at Wusueh were nobody in particular, and concluded that so long as they kept their hands off officials, the punishment meted out would not be grievous.

True to the traditions of the service, the Customs' staff stood to arms, but had only to present their bayonets to keep back stragglers, for here, also, the rioters made no real attack. Yet they made it sufficiently clear that their favours were distributed to all foreigners with strict impartiality. The land bought for the site of a new Custom House was taken possession of, the fine tennis lawn destroyed, and such other mischief done as the place

afforded opportunity. At the new Consulate in course of building the strong gate of the compound was broken to pieces and teak-wood doors and window frames torn from their position, the place becoming a thorough wreck. All the wood and builders' materials, and quantities of the very bricks were carried off, and at the date of writing the public are freely helping themselves to whatever remains.

A freak of the riot which would tax even the perfervid imagination of the author of "*Defensio Populi*" to explain, is that the extensive Mission premises of the Church of Scotland, within the city, remain intact. Up to the very moment of the riot, male and female schools, dispensary, hospital, not to speak of that terrible red rag, preaching in the Church, both forenoon and afternoon, were carried on.

Amidst all the ferment the very existence of the Mission was overlooked alike by mandarins and rowdies. The only people who manifested the slightest interest were the patients who came in nearly the usual number and took no pains to conceal their annoyance that Dr. Pirie was prevented from attending to them in the ordinary way. Not till Friday did the Mission receive any attention. Long before that time the bund was covered with the tents of soldiers guarding the blackened and battered ruins. Already, some twenty scholars, children of heathen parents, had resumed their places in the school, but casual remarks were now heard on the street that the premises had been left without official recognition or protection.

The schoolmaster now went to the *yamên* and stated, that when all the officials had gone out of the city and proved themselves unable to prevent a riot, he had remained at his post and succeeded in preventing any mischief being done to property within the city walls; but the time had come when he must either be told to leave, in which case the property would be left to its fate, or something must be done to show publicly that the place was protected. A ray of hope dawned on the magistrate at once. He could at least report all foreign property within the city to be safe and sound. Without delay, four runners were sent by the Chehsien, and a like number by the Chifu, with strict injunctions to arrest any one causing the slightest annoyance. The American Episcopal Mission in a native house within the city, the Roman Catholic Mission within the city also in a

native house, and the Church of Scotland Mission Station outside the north gate are all of them safe. No protection was given, but everything was as quiet as on ordinary occasions. If Christianity be offensive to the Chinese and Mission work felt to be a grievance, it is passing strange that the very centres of proselytising should not have a single stone cast at them. What happened at Ichang should convince all parties that it is not this or that individual class of Europeans that is aimed at, but all Europeans without distinction of nationality or occupation.

But it is time to tell how it fared with the residents about whom you have not already heard. They were Mrs. Roberts and daughter, of Shanghai, visitors to Ichang, Mr. and Mrs. Cockburn and five children, Dr. Pirie, Mr. Deans, and Mr. McNair of the China Inland Mission, from Shasi. After a variety of adventures and remarkable concomitances of favourable incidents, all reached the s.s. *Paohua* in safety, for which a debt of gratitude is due to Captain Lewis, the ship's boat in command of Mr. Grouleff having not only rescued the Roman Catholic missionaries, but also picked up Dr. Pirie, Mr. Deans and Mr. McNair, similarly exposed to a shower of stones, in a sampan with a broken oar.

Mr. Cockburn brought off Mrs. Roberts and daughter with his own family to the steamer, and immediately returned to see if he could carry from his house a few things of special value that can never be replaced. He was too late; but succeeded in getting an excellent view of what actually took place. Seeing numbers of soldiers mixed in the crowd he insisted on the boatman putting him ashore, feeling confident he would be protected from personal violence. The reply he got was "Soldiers will not strike soldiers." "That one and that one and that one," pointing to men armed with pickaxes and foremost in the riot: "These are all soldiers with their coats off!" Seeing how matters stood and with stones coming from the shore fast and thick, there was no help for it but to return to the steamer by a long *détour*.

Were anything more needed to show the utter helplessness and incompetence of the mandarins, the proof is not far to seek. On Wednesday afternoon two of the Customs' staff walked down to Mr. Cockburn's house, and amidst the general wreck particularly noticed that the carpet was still on the sitting-room floor, whilst the compound was already occupied by a lieutenant and company of soldiers, who to make doubly

sure that no stragglers should enter had barricaded the door and pitched a tent across it. Mr. Cockburn and Dr. Pirie went to the house on Thursday and found the carpet gone, the floor bearing evidence of the tacks having been carefully extracted. The inevitable conclusion is that the carpet was appropriated by the lieutenant himself. During the whole time the bund has been full of mandarins on horseback and in chairs rubbing shoulders with people openly carrying away plunder of every description from half-burnt wood to a silver tea service, which was observed to be taken to a house next door to a yamên. By Friday everything worth taking was gone, and then the official wrath burst forth against the poor people who came to get a little firewood cheaply.

Crowds of those caught with burdens of charred wood have been lodged in the yamên, but the mandarins durst not lay a finger on any of the real criminals. They are no doubt prepared to inflict any punishment demanded by foreign powers on the miserable creatures they have arrested, the very utmost limit of whose offences does not exceed petty theft. More than all this, there was an open attempt to commence the riot ten days before it actually occurred. At that date three Chinese entered the Scotch Mission by the back door, loudly demanding to be shown the place where the foreigners picked out children's eyes. Making their way to the Church, in which a native helper was preaching, they commenced tossing the seats about and shouting abuse which need not be repeated. Then seeing the various proclamations which have been issued in reference to the riots on the lower river posted up in front of the Church, one of them went up to them and shouted out, "These too are fabrications of the foreigners. Not one of them is genuine, nor bears the proper seals. I am an official myself and know the seals to be forgeries, see, here is a proper seal," pulling something from his pocket. By this time a crowd had collected, but contrary to expectation, the people of the neighbourhood, among them a military graduate, stoutly interfered, saying they all knew what was done in the Mission, and they would permit no disturbance to be raised by such slanderous statements. Then taking him by the shoulders they forcibly ejected him and saw him in safety to his home. What he said was not all false. He actually turned out to be a military officer, named Wang, of the rank of *wai-wei*. Through

the Consul, who personally examined the witnesses, the Chêntai was informed of what had taken place, and a reply was received that Mr. Wang had got a black mark put against his name, three of them being enough to ruin a man. After what has transpired, the sooner the other two black marks are added the better.

The bearing Ichang has on the rest of China cannot be appreciated without knowing that the Chêntai is an official of exceptional honesty and energy, who has hitherto been regarded with good reason as very friendly to Europeans. For China, his soldiers are in an excellent state of discipline. But he is a Hunan man, and his soldiers are from Hunan. Hunan people in the employment of officials are at the bottom of everything. Of the Chehsien, not much need be said. He was on the Chinese commission as to steamers running to Chungking, and was looked up to as a sort of leader, having had experience in dealing with foreigners at some former period of his career. Such a name did he make for himself when the s.s. *Kuling* was stopped from going to Chungking that he is now made the ruler of Ichang.

* * * * *

It only remains to be stated that those in the riot simply escaped in the clothes they stood in. They saved absolutely nothing, and the houses fired were burned to the ground. Mr. Cockburn's house is as completely wrecked and ruined as if it had been burned with the rest. Without a single hitch the rioters carried out their plans with thoroughness, with the single exception of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co.'s godown, where a compromise was effected. Fortunately there has been no loss of life, but infuriated men brandishing knives mean murder, and had the *Paohua* not been in port there would have been a sadder tale to tell.

III.

Another correspondent, under date 4th September, says that the mob after burning down Captain Cain's house pulled down the walls and uprooted the trees in the compound. The foreigners, to the number of nine, were under arms to protect the Consulate and Customs. They each received twenty rounds of ball ammunition, but did not need to fire their guns, for their bayonets were sufficient to keep the mob back. The *Paohua* was kept back till the arrival of the *Teh-hsing*. The people in the

city were still very excited on the 4th, but otherwise things were quiet. The mandarins, however, were quite unable to cope with the rioters. None of the C. N. Co.'s property was burnt.

Another letter states that the mob on the 3rd threatened to blow up the Custom House with bags of gunpowder, but fortunately they did not carry out their threat.

IV.

Information received by H.B.M.'s Office of Works at Shanghai confirms the news of the destruction of the new British Consulate at Ichang. At the time of the outbreak, the walls, which were of brick, had reached a height of about four feet from the ground, and the scaffolding had just been fixed. The rioters tore down scaffolding and all the woodwork and carried it off, besides knocking down all the brickwork they had time to attend to. All the materials for the building had been sent from Shanghai, a process which will now have to be repeated—at Ichang's expense.

V.

The s.s. *Paohua* arrived here yesterday at 4 p.m. with the Ichang refugees on board, in number twenty persons. There were one Father and seven Sisters of the Roman Catholic Mission, three gentlemen, one lady and five children of the Scotch Mission, one Inland Missionary and one tourist lady and child; all of whom had lost everything they possessed, save the clothes they stood in at the moment the riot broke out. Several of them still bore the marks of the serious violence they had lately been subjected to.

It is not necessary to repeat their story, which will be fully told by themselves, but a few items gathered in course of conversation with one and another may not be without some interest or value. There has been no riot as yet which will so well repay study. It not only occurred at a time when the Imperial authorities are supposed to be straining every nerve to maintain order, but it took place at noonday, without warning and without provocation. It was carried through by a handful of men, evidently acting under orders, in the presence of the local civil and military officials, and a large number of the people, who knew every man of them. Their mission of destruction was carried out with the utmost speed, completeness and impartiality.

That no lives were lost seems due to a number of special circumstances that were most providential. The members of the Scotch Mission owed their escape to the presence of a visitor with whom they had gone on the river at the time of the outbreak. They hurried back on the alarm, and the senior missionary had just time to rush to his house and seize two infant children who had been left at home, when the rioters arrived. The Consul escaped simply because his establishment did not seem to be in their programme. As the riot occurred during office hours, he took his place in his office, prepared if need be to transact the solemn business of sacrificing life to duty, but, though the rioters passed and repassed, they did not attack him. Two missionary gentlemen wished to stay with him, but these he hurried off to the steamer. With all its shortcomings, real or alleged, the Consular service does not lack courage, and that of the highest order. As these rioters will not face firearms, the Customs officials were safe enough in the Custom House. Indeed, several folks say that had they not confined themselves to the Custom House they could easily have squashed the whole affair. The Roman Catholic Sisters had by far the worst of it. The civilised world came pretty near being once more thrilled with all the horrors of another massacre like that of Tientsin.

The Chên tai, Loh Ta-jen, the head military official in charge at Ichang, has the reputation of being an honest and friendly man, and the residents believed in him. He, however, was a Hunan man, an old rebel leader, and, as the event proved, a broken reed to trust to. All available foreign and native testimony goes to prove that the rioters were his own Hunan soldiers, and yet he loudly declared to the Consul and others that he could do nothing. The district magistrate, Mr. Hsu, is not unknown to the foreign public. He was a most influential member of the commission appointed to arrange for the opening of the Upper Yangtze to the s.s. *Kuling*, which however, succeeded in most effectually closing the same instead. He is the reputed author of the preposterous fiction about the irate monkeys of the gorges which is supposed to have frightened the British government into abandoning its demands. As a consequence, he has since then enjoyed high favour, and the reward of office on the scene of his diplomatic triumph. Perhaps he hopes to succeed in persuading the same government that the same ferocious monkeys originated

and carried out the late riot. The telegraph clerks, as in previous cases, refused to send on news. A full telegram to the *North-China Daily News* was refused on the day of the riot, and all foreign messages the day after. One gentleman tried hard to get a message sent on credit, till he could borrow the money to pay, all his own being lost, but he tried in vain. On the third day, when all possible damage had been done, the military in great force mounted guard over the blackened ruins. It is hard to understand the reason for this proceeding, although probably to assist in guarding ruins is all the *Swift* will be able to do when she gets up. The *Paohua* had to wait two and a half days, till the *Teh-hsing* arrived, but even after she left the danger was not over, for two boat-loads of men armed with clubs tried to board her with the passengers at Shashi. The officers succeeded in keeping them off.

With regard to this fresh outbreak many opinions will be held, but it is difficult to see how any can be sustained which does not condemn the local authorities. If they did not directly instigate it, they certainly gave it the benefit of their connivance. It begins to look more and more as if while foreigners are talking about opening Hunan, Hunan is actively engaged in closing China to them, by the roughest and readiest means; and that too with the sympathy of the high authorities. In proof of this sympathy we have their unwillingness to punish rioters and murderers; the pretended inability of local officials to prevent outbreaks, and the avowal of such sentiments as those of the "Defensio," where we are told by Viceroy Chang's secretary that the wrath of the people is just, and that the worst that could be said the Wusueh murderers were guilty of was *excusable ignorance*! In this document the secretary is believed by all whose opinion is of value to faithfully represent the views of His Excellency, his master. If so, and if his colleague of Nanking is like minded, there is no need to search further for causes of the present troubles. A fresh proof of the complicity of high authority with the anti-foreign propaganda has reached me to-day. A friend in Szechuan writes that he had read the Governor's monthly letter to district magistrates. It related the particulars of the Wuhu riot, and the rumours which produced it, and asserted the latter were quite true! There can be no longer the slightest doubt but that, on China's own initiative, a struggle has begun which will

result in either vastly further opening up the country, on in practically closing it altogether. It is quite possible that the Ichang case may be simply made the subject of further diplomatics, and paying of indemnities, but there will soon be another and another case. I hear Chungking is the next place on the programme, if not Hankow. This cannot go on for ever. If foreigners can only be kept in terror for a while, the infatuated officials may reasonably expect them to retire. On the other hand, it is possible they may succeed in rousing the Great Powers to action, in which case we shall see great changes before all is over. Surely those Powers which are able to protect all sorts of alien men and nations in all parts of the globe will be equal to taking care of their own people in China.

Hankow, 7th September.

VI.

The wave of rumour and uneasiness has rolled back upon us. The success of the Ichang riot and the general excitement and absorption of the officials in the provincial examinations appear to have set the mischief makers to work again. On Monday anonymous notices were thrown into the compounds of the Roman Catholic and London Missions, which adjoin each other near the north gate of the city. These notices were in rhyming couplets, the characters arranged so as to form the strokes of the big words **天不容** "Heaven will not endure you." Numerous wrong characters were evidently intended to convey the idea of the illiterateness of the writer. The notice itself was an exposition of the text above given, with which we are now so familiar—that the foreigners with their pretence of trade and religion are with their money to be driven out of the empire, at the latest by next spring. The letter ended with grim politeness **拜上洋人**—"with compliments to the foreigners." The matter was at once brought before the notice of H.B.M.'s Consul, and the native authorities were instantly put on their guard. Immediate orders were issued to the various camps and barracks, and guards of soldiers were attached to the various Missions. A visit was paid by the Consul and the Captain of the British gunboat to the scene of the threat, and all precautions taken and arrangements made for rendezvous in case of disturbance. The day occupied by the grand procession to the Examination Hall passed over quite

quietly. At night a fire took place outside the city beyond the Viceroy's yamên in the extreme south. Instantly the electric search light from one of the men-of-war was flashed over the whole place. The writer lives in the southern half of the city, cut off by the Snake Hill from sight of the other half and of Hankow. In the past we have repeatedly seen the search light flashing over the other side of the hill, but last night was the first time our region has been illuminated. The moral effect of that electric light is most valuable. It is a sort of putting into dramatic form "The eye of Europe is upon you," which is cheering to stray scraps of Europe stranded amidst unsympathetic Asia. Whether the dramatised eye of Europe will be as potent as the Gorgon's and turn the activities of evil men to stone remains to be seen. I have been able to test the signs of the streets twice in the last twelve hours. An opium suicide led me a long way at midnight; the same dead streets, the same owlishly sleepy wardens turning patiently out of their kennels to unbar the street gates, just the same as usual; even, I find this morning, the same thieves as usual trying to break into my neighbour's house and failing in the attempt. This morning I walked the main streets from end to end, and save for finding them densely crowded through the examinations, I noticed no signs of anything out of the ordinary. But there is an unpleasant feeling in the air; the natives of the place certainly know nothing, and are evidently worried at the unrest which tells against business. There is even a certain aggravation in a suspense which leads to no result; the very absence of finality which is our good fortune has its disadvantages. Ichang has but added one lesson to many others how completely we are at the mercy of any one who chooses to lose a baby or determines to die on our doorstep. None the less Wuchang itself is likely to remain untouched. One is puzzled even now whether these recent alarms may not be the mischievous delight of some such joker to distract the foreigner by suggestions of possible damage. The worst of it is that in China, you can never tell till after the event. Meanwhile, "not being able to tell" grows monotonous.

There is much said about vigorous telegrams received here on Monday from the Tsung-li Yamên, and there is no doubt that H.E. Chang Chih-tung is highly enraged at Ichang thus stepping in to keep up the trouble of Wusueh. As to the future—there

are ominous whispers here of the temper in which the numerous official Hunanese living here have received the suggestion of the opening of their province to trade. But, if the Imperial Government be kept up to its duty by the Western Powers, whispers and murmurs won't finally stop the march of events. One thing is now absolutely essential; any demands must be pushed right through. There must be no half measures if China is to be bearable for the future.

Wuchang, 9th September.

VII.

The uneasiness and sense of something in the air continue. The signs are all significant of the natives of the place knowing nothing and therefore guessing much. The dates selected—the evening after the entry of the Governor into the Examination Hall, and now that that has passed, the 15th or 16th of the moon, when the graduates will return from examination—suggest that nothing definite is known. Certain it is that many wandered about on the first mentioned night expecting to see a blaze, and report has it that many graduates delayed entering the hall till the last moment for the sake of the promised excitement. Meanwhile we have every reason to be grateful to our foreign authorities for the promptitude and thoroughness of their precautions. Everything is indefinite, so while ladies and children are removed to the foreign concession, the men are remaining at their work, while plans are well worked out for assistance or rescue in case of disturbance. The city gates, which shut us in immediately after dusk, suggest unpleasant possibilities. The native authorities are much on the alert, but without that full confidence in themselves and their forces which we should like. The Nieh T'ai (Provincial Judge) and Shieh T'ai (Colonel in command) have called all the missionaries to inspect the picquets of soldiers. Happy are those who are guarded by natives; a Hunan guard at a time like this is a doubtful security. Notwithstanding the feeling that all this may be a mere alarm, the absolute necessity of being on the alert, and the feeling that "something is coming" is far more trying than having it over and being done with it. Certainly Hunan talk about the streets does not add to the general tranquility.

The threats as to what will be the result should Hunan be humbled are emphatic, succinct, and comprehensive. But there is a long gap between braggadocio born of long military reputation and putting into effect threats of war and sedition.

Wuchang, 11th September.

VIII.

Yesterday a stern proclamation was issued by the Viceroy and the Governor announcing that, in accordance with the directions of the Imperial Edict of the seventh day of the fifth moon, they will instantly put to death any one found inciting to violence by placard or otherwise, and offering a reward of a hundred taels to any one whose information shall lead to the arrest of such offenders. This invocation of the magic of the Imperial name and the offer of a reward so large, larger than an individual share of any possible loot, ought to do a good deal towards the maintenance of order. The rumours were becoming unpleasantly pointed and personal, and the secret warnings were coming to hand from friends to native Christians that the soldiery were likely to join in any outbreak, and generally the feeling of insecurity was trying. This proclamation rather restores the balance; and though dates, the 17th and 20th of September, are freely mentioned we may hope that all will pass off quietly. It is needless to say that the suspense, the expecting something that may come but doesn't, is more trying to most of us than would be an actual riot. Of course in a provincial capital the treachery of the soldiery is the only thing to be feared. Natives who remember two separate occasions within the last ten years when the soldiers revolted and worsted the Viceroy look gloomy as they discuss the possibility. But with a good strong Viceroy—though we should be glad to see more signs of perfect self-confidence in him at this crisis—three European gunboats at Hankow, determined commanders, and a British Consul who has left nothing undone to protect those entrusted to him, we ought surely to be and I think shall be safe in the capital of Central China. Should any riot occur the disgrace to China will not easily be wiped out.

Wuchang, 14th September.

MANCHURIA RIOTS.

I.

SIR,—I beg to send you particulars of a brutal assault committed on my colleague, Dr. James A. Greig, at a place called Tasueibêa, near Kirin, on the night of the 7th inst. Kirin, the capital of this province, is distant 240 *li*. On the date just mentioned the doctor was returning from one of his usual monthly visits to the city, accompanied by his dispenser and cook. The party left the city about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the doctor on horseback and the other two in a small cart. As the former was mounted he soon out-distanced his companions and arrived, about two hours in advance of his party, at a large inn in the village of Fusueiheia, forty-five *li* south-west of Kirin. After supper all retired for the night. At midnight Dr. Greig was rudely awakened by the grip of a strong hand on his throat. On recovering consciousness he found himself surrounded by three or four soldiers on the *k'ang*, while others were about the door of the little apartment. They began a violent assault, beating him with the backs of their swords; but finding themselves hampered by the narrowness of the chamber, they lifted him bodily and with one sweep landed him on the floor of the outer room. While thus prostrate, and incapable of offering the slightest resistance, they turned him over, twisted his hands behind his back, bound him with a rope, and plied him with the vilest language which their native vocabulary could supply. This first scene in the tragedy ended by one of the ruffians firmly planting his foot on the neck of the victim as he lay prone, his check resting on the earthen floor.

At this point of time the doctor was asked "Where is my child?" to which he could only reply that he knew nothing of a child. Not satisfied with this reply, they became still more furious, redoubling blows with blade and bludgeon. Thinking all the while that his ruthless assailants were mounted robbers disguised as soldiers, and that their sole object was booty, Dr. Greig made an attempt to buy them off by an offer of silver in case they released him on the spot. The only answer vouchsafed was "We don't want your money, but your life." Hands and feet so tightly bound that the circulation was suspended, and with the ruffian's foot still on his neck, the doctor was ordered to stand up. In vain. He was then dragged to the side of the *k'ang*, which three of his tormentors mounted, and hoisting him up lashed him

to a post which serves to support the timber of the roof. Thus suspended, solely by his arms, he suffered an agony of torture, and longed for the parting stroke. He swooned away ; but animation was restored by the application of cold water—dashed on the face. He was then lowered, so as to allow of his resting on the ground, weak and faint to the last degree, and suffering excruciating pain, as the arms began to swell.

Repeatedly did he beg for water ; as often denied. So, too, did he entreat that his bonds might be loosed ; but likewise refused. Simultaneously with all this others of the band (twenty-three in all) were belabouring the dispenser and cook hard by. They, too, were bound, but in a less painful attitude ; in fact the fury of the attack was directed almost entirely against the foreigner.

As daylight began to appear Dr. Greig was permitted to lie down ; but by this time he was so weak that they had to lift him on the *k'ang*, when he fainted for the second time. All this time he was in his sleeping attire, while the cold night air played upon his person through the open windows. A trifle alarmed lest he might die in their hands, the implacable fiends now permitted him to sip a little hot water and the assistant Shü Shien-sung to fetch some brandy. About six o'clock on Saturday morning the victim was unbound, and at the same time he was informed that the children had just been discovered.

It was subsequently found out that the ringleaders in this most outrageous assault were three soldiers from the city of Kirin, and a groom or follower to take charge of the beasts they were riding. They were *ch'in bing* of the Chi Shêng Ying (吉勝營).^{*} Their number was augmented to the foregoing dimension, (twenty-three) by additions from the outlying picket stationed in Tasueihêa and other soldiers putting up at the same inn.

The attack altogether lasted about four hours, the torture inflicted during that time, both mental and physical, being as exquisite as prolonged. By a merciful providence his life was spared, for many a man would have succumbed to such violence.

An attempt was now made by Dr. Greig to despatch a letter to Kwanch'engtze, but the letter was intercepted by the soldiers and torn to shreds. A second attempt later in the day succeeded. By and bye he was informed by two soldiers left in charge

^{*} The body guard of the Tartar General or Chiang Chün, Military Governor of the Province.

that he could not proceed to Kwan but must return to Kirin. Accordingly, about 5 o'clock in the evening they started for the latter city, which was reached about midnight ; and, although the hour was so late, there were many people awaiting the arrival. Numerous lanterns were thrust into the cart to enable their owners to have a look at the "kidnapper" (*p'ai-hai-tse-ti*). The only conclusion to be arrived at is that some of those engaged in the assault had preceded Dr. Greig to the city and industriously circulated this foul and dangerous report. He was driven to an inn, and not suffered to return to his own dispensary ; but refused to have his liberty so invaded, and demanded to know by whose authority they were acting. He was informed that the Tartar General (Chiang Chün) had so commanded it. For the following three days he was a prisoner in this inn, without any attempt being made to arrest the criminals, or obtain redress. How long he might have remained in this unhappy plight, the butt of the ribald mob who came to add insult to injury, no one can imagine. Fortunately he was now within telegraphic reach of the British Consul ; and he was not slow to avail himself of the privilege of communicating with Mr. Ayrton of Newchwang, and claiming the protection to which he was entitled as a British subject. Messages of a re-assuring nature were received in reply. The aspect of affairs now began to change ; the feeling in official circles was that a gross blunder had been committed, and now they were as obsequious as before they were insolent and overbearing.

By the time I reached Kirin, Dr. Greig was already installed in the quietness of his own premises. Although the fifth day after the occurrence, his whole body was a mass of bruises and discolorations. At last the Tartar "had mercy on him" (*ên diên* was the very phrase used !) and permitted him to leave the city, but refused an escort.

Allow me to draw your attention to one fact which has an important bearing on this transaction. This is that the Imperial proclamation of the 7th of the 5th moon, although received by the Military Governor (Chiang Chün) of this province was not posted up, but actually suppressed. In all probability this unfortunate occurrence would not have taken place had that admirable document been made known to the public.

I am, etc.,

JAMES CARSON

Kwanchêngtze, Newchwang, 17th August.

II.

In a considerable number of periodicals I have seen the unfortunate case of Dr. Greig of this province referred to, and in them all were serious mistakes which should be corrected. In every instance it was declared that the outrage had been committed by the "bodyguard of the Governor-General of Manchuria," who had also "refused or neglected to publish the Imperial proclamation." How any one writing of this case, even if but half a year in the country, could have been so utterly ignorant of the affairs of this province passes my comprehension. In Manchuria there is only one Governor-General, whose residence is in Moukden, and whose body-guard, whatever its worth, had as much and as little to do with that case as the body-guard of the King, say, of Siam. In each of the three provinces of Manchuria there is a Governor, always in Chinese styled the Tartar General. Probably the Tartar General, a military official, was considered to be the same as the Governor-General, a civil one. If any bodyguard was implicated therefore it was that of the Tartar General of Kirin. In ordinary cases a slip of this kind is of little consequence; in the present instance, when so much public attention has been drawn to the Chinese authorities, it is a serious blunder.

It so happened that our first meeting of the Presbytery in this city was contemporary with the arrival of the telegram announcing the anti-foreign riots in Anhui. Soon after we heard the news it percolated down to the people, among whom it caused a commotion such as I have not known for years. There was no word then of the Ko-lao Hui, and the disturbance was set down to the desire of the southern Chinese to drive the foreigner out of China—for it was anti-foreign, not anti-missionary. Curious gossip and interested animosity kept the troubled waters simmering till at length they came to the boiling point and, for a time, by friends and foes everything else was cast in the shade by this anti-foreign craze. When everybody's mind was tense—except that of the few foreigners here, who certainly kept quiet enough—and when the buzzing people were prepared for anything, what next? A little hungry boy went up to a seller of confectionery on the street, priced, took, and ate one or two of his biscuits. After eating he should pay, but not a cash had he for the purpose. The angry seller fired off such a lot of expostulation and abuse that the boy set up a howl which attracted all the neighbourhood

Standing close by was a pencil-seller who asked the cause of the hysterical cries. The confectioner told him and at last said, "But it doesn't matter, it is only a few cash after all!" But the pencil-seller out of kindness of heart said to the boy, "Never mind, I'll give the cash, you cease crying and go home;" and with that he paid over the money. The crying ceased and the boy turned to go.

The quick argus eyes of justice saw more than pity in the act of the pencil-seller, and from the other side of the street a soldier who had watched the scene jumped across and seized the pencil-seller as a kidnapper. The amazed man was taken to the yamên despite his protestations, and the accusation, expected by all the city, was made against him. Being so serious an offence the Governor-General, who at that time more than half believed the stories, deputed the mandarin now in charge of Tieling to examine the kidnapper. His account of his connection with the crying child was laughed at as a cleverly concocted story and he was plied with questions to ascertain "the truth." He was beaten first lightly, then more severely and leading questions put to him so that he might tell the kidnapper's story. "How much did Mr. Ross give you? How long have you been employed by him?" etc. At length the mandarin in apparent pity said, "Why are you so stubborn? will you not just say that you were employed by Mr. Ross and save yourself this beating?" "How can I?" was the man's reply. "I never spoke to Mr. Ross, we are utter strangers to each other. How can I say that? If I did say this untruth would it not lead to far greater trouble?"

As it was found that all sorts of arguments failed to elicit "the truth," the man was at last committed to prison. Next day the yamên was invaded by about a thousand pencil-sellers to bail the man out. These, his fellows in trade, declared that this was a kind and good man, gentle in manner and decent in conduct, who could not possibly be guilty of the horrid crime imputed to him. The numbers of the bailers weighed with the mandarin more than their arguments, and the man was set free. A young mandarin, friendly both to us and that examiner, expressed his wonder that a man like him was so ignorant of foreigners as for a moment even to seem to give credence to such stories. "What could I do?" replied the judge, "from the Governor-General down every mandarin believed more or less in the kidnapping

stories and what could I do? I could not stand alone." Several other attempts were made to get up charges against us by examining men accused of kidnapping, but the charges all fell through.

All this, however, still kept up the excitement and every new charge of kidnapping increased the general uneasiness. While the city was in this state of fermentation the Governor-General and the commander of the forces were called to Port Arthur to meet the Viceroy of Chihli who went there to examine the forts. Among other subjects of conversation was the kidnapping scare. The Viceroy had to reason and argue against the suspicions of our Governor-General till he at last removed all trace of doubt from his mind. On the day of their re-entrance into the city the commander sent me his card with a message to "rest at ease for he would not only secure the peace, but investigate, and punish the authors of the wild rumours and the placard affixed to the gate." Immediately thereafter the Imperial proclamation was posted up all over the city in the name of the Governor-General and the Taotai. From that day the evil stories began to die down and soon general peace prevailed. Large numbers of people have since then deprecated the crass folly of those who could believe such mad tales—probably they themselves being among the believers. It was some time after all this that Dr. Greig was attacked by the Kirin soldiers. I have somewhere seen the name of the Viceroy of Chihli brought under suspicion in connexion with the anti-foreign movement and I think that it should be known that it was he who brought our Governor-General to think aright on this question.

JOHN ROSS.

Moukden, 15th December, 1891.

CHINKIANG—MASON'S ARREST.

I.

On Sunday night last a telegram was received here, saying that a Mr. Mason, of the Customs, who had been away on leave, should be taken in hand on the steamer's arrival and searched, as it was feared something was wrong. This was done, Mr. Mason making no objections, nor showing any signs of uneasiness. Between five and ten pounds of dynamite were found

in his baggage, and a bill of lading for thirty-seven cases of steel (which a telegram from Shanghai shows to be rifles) which were to follow on the next China Merchants' Steam Navigation steamer. This occurred about 1 a.m.; about 3 a.m., fearing that the Chinese officials might hear of the matter and attempt to get him into their possession, at his own request he was put on the gunboat *Redpole*. A private examination was held the next morning, with what results is not known, and that evening he was put on one of the steamers to be sent to Shanghai.

There seems little doubt that the arms and dynamite, four charges of which were prepared and ready for use, were intended for the Ko-lao Hui. But what connection he has with them is of course a mere matter of supposition to us all.

The whole matter has been a severe shock to us all, not only because of the possible danger we may have escaped, but also that any foreigner, especially Mr. Mason, should have been found in league with the Ko-lao Hui.

Chinkiang, 16th September.

II.

The Mason episode has come, as many feared it would, to a lame and impotent conclusion: Mr. Mason has pleaded guilty, and the curiosity of those who felt that only a part of the truth had come out in the enquiry before the magistrate, remains unsatisfied, and must always remain so. The details of the episode are so fresh in every one's recollection that it is unnecessary to repeat them. There were three theories held to account for Mr. Mason's action. Mr. Drummond wrote to us in September last that it was clear in his opinion "that Mr. Mason is a monomaniac with Ko-lao Hui on the brain . . . that all his story is untrue, and that his actions, have been caused by a morbid craving for notoriety, and a more or less insane vanity." This is the first theory, which has been otherwise expressed in the assertion that there was a stupendous and terrible conspiracy, beginning and ending in Mason. The second theory was that a conspiracy leading to a rebellion actually exists, with headquarters at Chinkiang or Nanking, of which Mason was either a member or a tool, and which provided him with the funds which he spent in Hongkong, and this is the theory that underlies the statement read by Mr. Mason in Court yesterday. But it will be

noticed that there are so many discrepancies between that statement and those previously made by him voluntarily, that it is impossible to place much confidence in it. At the same time the anxiety shown by the Viceroy at Nanking to have Mason prosecuted, lends some colour to this second theory. The third theory is the one suggested by our correspondent "Open Eyes" in his letter published in these columns on the 21st of September; that "the whole affair in which Mr. Mason has acted as a performer of a part, has been got up in the interest of Chinese government officials, by some designing person, or persons, clever enough to dupe some of the foreigners employed for the purpose." The Imperial Commissioner Lin urged on the Chinese government many years ago that they should "attack barbarians with barbarians, control barbarians by barbarians, and avail themselves of the superiority of barbarians to master barbarians;" and Mason is supposed to have been employed, wittingly or not, by the Chinese government in order to give them a weapon which they could use against the inconvenient claims that foreign Powers were urging. At the first blush, this third theory seems almost fantastic, but it is widely held, and by men who have had a long and intimate acquaintance with Chinese methods. They insist that it was obviously intended all along that the arms Mr. Mason brought up with him in the *Chiyuen* should be discovered here, and they point to the fact that the Customs here received no less than three telegrams from Hongkong from different sources, warning them that the arms were on board the *Chiyuen*. It is obvious too that the party which has gained most by the discovery is the Chinese government. It has been enabled to prove to the foreign Ministers that there is a rebellion in conception which has fomented the riots for which it is being called to account, and that a subject or subjects of one of the Powers which is pressing it most strenuously, are implicated in that rebellion. The Crown Advocate mentioned in his speech yesterday that the prosecution of Mason was in the first instance instituted on behalf of the Chinese government. This does not, however, necessarily contradict the theory that Mason was the tool of that government. His prosecution would naturally be part of the programme. The Chinese government were anxious to show that there was a rebellious movement of some kind in the Yangtze valley, thus lightening their own responsibility; and they have succeeded, for

we find the Crown Advocate saying: "This rising was about to take place, or there was danger or apprehension of it, and risings have taken place in the valley of the Yangtze accompanied by loss of life and property. Now that is a serious matter. It is a serious matter to assist men who are engaged in such a conspiracy, and nothing the prisoner has said goes to show that he was not to assist them." On the other hand the only evidence we have of the existence of such a conspiracy is Mason's statements, with the slight confirmation that there was much excitement among the Chinese at Chinkiang when Mr. Mason arrived there with the dynamite. But if there was no one at the back of Mason, how can we account for his engaging some twenty men in Hongkong, men who would look to him for their direction and support when they arrived here? It is hard to imagine that any one's vanity or anxiety for notoriety would induce him to take such a burden as that on his shoulders.

Those who have read the evidence and studied and talked over the case will form their own conclusions as to which of the three theories that we have named is the correct one. It is incredible that the Chinese government can be at the bottom of Mason's action. It is difficult to believe that if he was a member of a rebellious conspiracy, no other evidence of the existence of that conspiracy should be forthcoming; and it is incredible that any man, not actually insane, should go as far as Mason did simply that he might bring himself before the public, and get some relief from "four years' monotony at an outport." Mason's own explanations of his reasons for what he did contain so many discrepancies and contradictions that they are little guide: possibly time will reveal the truth; meanwhile it is a conundrum to which we have hardly yet the materials from which to forge a key.

Shanghai, 30th October.

III.

SENTENCE OF THE JUDGE.

His Lordship—Of course I have considered the depositions, and looking at them with the light of your statement and of the Crown Advocate's statement upon them, I can see I am in a proper position now to judge what the sentence upon you ought to be. No doubt this is not as serious a matter as it might have

been. No doubt there is in it almost a childishness which reduces the gravity of the offence ; but at the same time it is so grave in all its circumstances that it would be impossible for me to pass a nominal sentence. I do not forget that the charge is the carrying of dynamite ; and I agree with the Crown Advocate that while that is the charge all the surrounding circumstances must be taken into consideration. It might be a very light offence ; it might be a very grave one. This I conceive to be between the two. I take into consideration that confinement here in China is a much more serious punishment than it would be at home. I take into consideration also the loss of your position and the entire ruin of your career here in China. That that is completely ruined there can be no doubt ; and if it were not ruined and it were possible for you to remain here, I should think it right to take steps to prevent you being here. I cannot under all the circumstances pronounce a less sentence than one of nine months' imprisonment, and I also include in the sentence that you find two sureties of \$2,500 each for your good behaviour from the expiry of your sentence. If you do not find them you will have to be deported. I also include in the sentence that you must pay the expenses of the trial and of your imprisonment.

IV.

The four unfortunate Chinese who were implicated by Mr. Mason have now been forced by protracted torture to confess that they conspired with him, and will probably lose their heads. That Mr. Mason ever contemplated such a result we do not believe, but he has done it. Is it impossible for our authorities to intercede for these poor men ? One of them, the head road coolie, is a poor ignorant countryman, who was hired to pull the weeds out of the extra-concession roads at Chinkiang, and he almost certainly does not even know what the words *Ko-lao Hui* mean. There is little doubt that all four men are entirely innocent of any evil intention, and it is a reproach to all foreigners that they should suffer as they have done and have yet to do. All foreigners must be shocked at this result of Mason's criminal folly, and we are sure that all would be only too glad to hear that our authorities had found some way of approaching the provincial government, and getting the lives of these poor victims spared.

Shanghai, 23rd January.

MONGOLIAN REBELLION.

I.

TELEGRAMS.

London, 27th November.

The *Chronicle* states that the Christians at Kinchow have all been massacred. The revolt is extending to the districts north of Peking.

London, 1st December.

The mandarins in the district of Takou arranged with the rebel leaders to spare the non-Christian population, while giving license to attack the Christians. Frightful atrocities are reported. Children have been roasted, nuns outraged and brained, while the hearts and tongues of Belgian priests have been torn out.

[The nuns alluded to are probably the elder Chinese girls in the orphanages.]

II.

The following confirmatory telegram was received in Shanghai on the 3rd December from Tientsin:—"Rumours about serious troubles in Manchuria are confirmed, but position is not dangerous." This probably means the position in Tientsin. The U.S.S. *Palos* is under orders to proceed to that port, as soon as her new commander arrives to-day. Meantime we learn that according to a private letter from Newchwang, dated 23rd ult., the Chinese authorities were despatching 5,000 troops from Newchwang and 15,000 from Port Arthur, to intercept the rebels and protect Moukden.

From authentic sources we understand that the situation in the north is more serious than at first reported. It is said that Li Hung, son of the ex-rebel and Generalissimo of Kiangsu, Li Chung-shua, who was beheaded some years ago by Yü Lu, then Governor of Anhui, is the leader of the daring enterprise, ostensibly for the purpose of avenging his father's death on Yü Lu, now Tartar General of Moukden. His force consists of 30,000 or 40,000 robbers, disbanded troops and roughs, and he is devastating the country about Chaoyang far and near. Of the five camps of soldiers (2,500 men) sent by Yü Lu against him, 1,500 went over to the rebels. The troops remaining loyal to this general were again and again defeated. The great danger lies in Li Hung being an Anhui man, while the soldiers at the

disposal of the Viceroy Li are all from Anhui. Many of them have probably served under Li Hung's father, who was, notwithstanding all his crimes, a most recklessly brave leader. He was besides a most cruel victor.

III.

The following account was sent from Tongshan, under date the 28th November:—

Chaoyang, (朝陽) is one of the six districts under the Prefecture of Chingteh Fu (承德府), under the government of the Tartar General at Jeho* (熱河), and is situated on the N.E. boundary of the Chihli Province, just outside the wall and bordering on Manchuria. About 70 *li* to the N. of the city of Chaoyang there is a place called Peiyao, a hilly place, and there the historical mounted hordes have their stronghold. The place is so inaccessible and well-defended that the brigands until lately have not been much disturbed so long as they kept within the precincts of their stronghold. The present chief is a comparatively young man named Kwo Hai (郭海) and he is said to have had originally a following of about 1,000 men all well equipped. In the city, among other elements for its protection, there is stationed a detachment of cavalry about 300 strong under the command of an officer named Chang. Some time in August last this officer boldly made an attack on the stronghold of the brigands and succeeded in destroying it, the chief being away at the time. But all the chief's household were either put to the sword or made good their escape, but from the chieftain's harem, commander Chang took away alive one of the concubines. This he gave over to a friend of his in the district magistrate's yamén. So far everything went well and a brave act was recorded in favour of Chang, who had the distinction of succeeding in destroying the stronghold of a formidable gang of mauraunders, who had for years defied governmental authority. On the 9th of this month General Yeh, the commander-in-chief of all the forces of this province, came near Chaoyang in his course of yearly inspection of the troops under his command; the cavalry detachment had to come out for inspection, and the city was left in a comparatively unprotected state. The routed chieftain

* Sometimes written Jehol.

heard of this and thought the time had arrived for him to have his revenge, so he collected a number of his followers and made a descent on the city, overpowered the scanty garrison left in charge, killed the magistrate, liberated his captive concubine and declared himself master of the town after overawing any who had the audacity to resist his authority, and by way of revenge the chief carried away two of the magistrate's daughters. Having gone so far, there was left him no alternative but to declare himself in open rebellion, hoisting a standard with the inscription of 平清王, or literally translated "Down with the Tsing Dynasty." Since he took possession of the city, he set to work to govern it in his own style, and inviting recruits so that in a short time he gathered a following of six to seven thousand strong. General Yeh finding the enemy much too superior in number to the forces he had at disposal got to the nearest place where he could communicate by wire for reinforcements, and reported the occurrence to the Viceroy Li, meantime disposing all the available forces he had on the spot to guard all the strategical points so as to confine the rebels within the district in their possession. Immediately on the receipt of the news the Viceroy despatched 1,500 cavalry and 1,500 infantry of his disciplined troops to the seat of trouble, part of the way by rail as far as the line has been constructed, and this is the first time that soldiers on an expedition have been transported over the line since its construction. There is no question as to the result of the expedition, for there does not seem a finer lot of men than the disciplined troops who passed through the railway the past few days, and they were perfectly armed with the most modern weapons. The Viceroy is determined to stamp out this incipient rebellion by one blow, hence his sending a comparatively large force at the outset. There is no possibility of the insurgents holding out against a force like this; the contest will be too unequal. Therefore as soon as news of the first encounter is received we may hear no more of the rebellion except its annihilation. One good feature of the affair is that the country round about is quiet, the harvest having been good, there is no distress, consequently the people are not easily led to enter into the arena of disaffection.

Almost simultaneously with the outbreak mentioned above, a disturbance of a serious nature occurred on the 14th November

between a new religious sect who called themselves "Tsai-li" (在禮), or "the Rite Itself" and some Christians in a place called Ping-chuen (平泉州), a town between Chaoyang and Jeho. The "Ritualists" as we may call them profess a religion that is not much known, as it is a comparatively new religion and its adherents are chiefly confined to natives of this province. One of their tenets is an abstention from smoking and drinking, but notwithstanding their virtuous qualifications, they do not seem to get on well with the Christians who, by the way, are not known to be either Protestants or Catholics, but these religionists seem to hate each other as cats and dogs. Their disagreement culminated in a sort of faction fight on the dog in question, and the Christians became worsted having some killed, and the report includes a foreign missionary among the latter, but with what truth there is no means of verification. The "Ritualists" elated with success extorted about Tls. 5,000 from the inhabitants and promised to leave them and their property untouched. Fearing the approach of troops from Jeho, they took to their heels and joined the rebels at Chaoyang, situated some 400 *li* to the east.

The above is as accurate an account as can be got, and our informant is a man who has recently returned from Chaoyang. Of course, there are various versions, as is usual in such cases, and exaggerated every time a version is repeated, so that the original becomes utterly unrecognisable when told to the last hearer. We do not profess that the above is correct in every detail, but the main features are, we believe, quite reliable.

IV.

When some time ago Tê Fu, the Lieut.-Governor of Jeho, reported that armed bands of lawless characters were creating disturbances in the Jeho and Ch'aoyang districts, Li Hung-chang, Ting An (Imperial Military High Commissioner for Manchuria), and Yü Lu, Military Governor of Shengching, were directed to at once despatch troops to suppress them. Shortly afterwards Yeh Chih-ch'ao, the commander-in-chief for the province of Chihli, reported that at Sanshihchiatzu in the Chiench'ang district he had successfully attacked the rebels, and we have now received reports from the three officers above mentioned, all dated on the same day, announcing that they had been victorious in several

encounters with these secret society scoundrels. During the seven days from the 21st to the 28th of November Nieh Kuei-lin and Keng Feng-ming, the Brigade Generals despatched from Fengt'ien, made several attacks on the rebels in the Ch'aoyang district and took alive two of their leaders, Kuo Mai-ch'ang and Yang Ming. Tuhashih, another leader, was killed in battle along with more than a thousand of his followers. An additional force under Chang Yung-ch'ing has now been sent to clear the country round about Changwut'aimen. Yeh Chih-ch'ao's troops attacked the rebels at Wukuanying in the Chiench'ang district and slew two great chiefs, Fu Lien-hsin and P'eng Tai-ho. The battle field was strewn with the bodies of the vanquished, amongst whom were many attired in the garb of Taoist priests. Untold numbers of horses and a quantity of stores were likewise captured. The troops are at present scouring the district between Chiench'ang and Ch'aoyang and a body of cavalry has been sent to them in the insurgents on the north-west in the region of the Khorchin tribes. The news of these various successes is very gratifying to us and we would impress on the leaders of the troops the necessity of rapidly following them up and restoring order by clearing out every germ of rebellion.

The following punishments have in obedience to our orders been suggested by the Board of Civil Office and are to be at once carried into effect. Tê Fu, the Military Lieut.-Governor of Jeho, is to be degraded one step and retained at his post. Ting Yung, the Intendant of the Jeho circuit, is to be degraded two steps and retained at his post. Chi Shao, the Prefect of Ch'engtê Fu, is to be degraded two steps and transferred for service elsewhere. No commutation of these sentences is to be permitted.—(Trans. of *Peking Gazette*, 6th December.)

V.

Yeh Chi-ch'ao has presented us with a memorial reporting a victory he has obtained over the rebels in the Yüshulin district. When the disturbances first broke out, Yeh received instructions to take immediate steps to restore order, and in conformity with these instructions detached a body of troops under Colonel Pan Wan-ts'ai to conduct operations at Wuhu and Maliang. Steadily pressing in on the insurgents he came on them in force at

Yüshulin on the 30th of November. The rebels, of whom there were about two thousand, made most obstinate resistance, contesting every street in the town and fighting with great determination for about four hours. At length, however, being hemmed in on all sides, they had to give way and were all put to the sword. A great number of horses and stores fell into the hands of the Imperial troops. The rebels in the neighbouring villages, when they heard that their friends were being attacked, came to their aid but were beaten off with the loss of over a hundred of their number. Several of their leaders in yellow garments were killed, likewise one of the pseudo-princes Chi Yao-shih and four other conspicuous chiefs. From Yüshulin P'an made his way to Hsich'iaot'ou clearing the country as he went along. To the east of Chiench'ang a rebel leader Liu Huai had taken up his head-quarters and was plundering and ravaging the country round about. General Nieh Shih-ch'eng on the 3rd inst. proceeded against him and utterly defeated him, capturing guns, horses, standards and drums. The latter officer is now moving into the Heishui district, having completely cleared the country round Chiench'ang, the roads and means of communication being all free.

These reports give us great satisfaction and we would impress on Yeh and his subordinates the necessity of going on as they have begun and of ridding the country entirely of every vestige of rebellion.—(*Ibid*, 11th December.)

VI.

Ting An, the Imperial Military Commissioner in Manchuria, and Yü Lu, the Governor of Fêngt'ien, submit a memorial in which they report the result of certain engagements which have been fought with the rebels in the Ch'aoyang district, and give an account of the arrangements which have been made with regard to the disposition of the additional troops that have been despatched to deal with the outbreak. Immediately information reached the memorialists of the rising in Ch'aoyang, they sent troops to suppress the movement and forwarded a joint memorial to the Throne, reporting the action they had taken in the matter. On the 22nd of November Yü Lu received an Imperial decree which was transmitted to him by telegraph, and he then despatched

another memorial giving a general summary of what was going on. Another decree reached him on the 26th of November, a copy of which was forwarded to the military authorities with instructions to act in concert and put forth every effort to annihilate the rebels. On the 25th of November, General Nieh Kuei-lin telegraphed that on reaching the Ch'aoyang district on the 21st of November, he learnt that the rebels had fought an engagement with the trained braves of Ch'aoyang at a place called Pachiao Shan. He marched at the head of his men and attacked the enemy on two sides, killing over two hundred of their number and taking a dozen or more of them prisoners. The main force of the rebels effected a retreat, and on the ensuing day he followed them up to a place called 'T'aoquat'u, about 60 *li* to the east of Ch'aoyang, where he made an onslaught upon them with his whole force and killed over fifty of them. One petty officer on the Imperialist side fell in action and another was severely wounded. The rebels made good their retreat under cover of night. The pursuit was continued on the following day and the enemy were encountered drawn up in regular battle array to the number of over two thousand men. General Nieh divided his troops into three columns, one of which was to direct the attack upon the east, the second on the west, while the third was to assail the enemy's centre. A most obstinate and hard fought engagement, lasting from seven in the morning to two in the afternoon, ended in the complete rout of the rebels, seven hundred of whom fell in action, while over thirty others were made prisoners. Two hundred guns, spears and other weapons, and over twenty flags were captured by the Imperialists. After the troops had been withdrawn from the field, the muster roll was called and seven men were found to be wounded. The rebels retreated towards the north and darkness coming on, the pursuit could not be continued.

On the 24th and 26th of November General Kêng Fêng-ming forwarded telegraphic reports to the following effect:—On the morning of the 23rd he came upon a detached body of the rebels numbering over three hundred, at a place called Laoyenkou about 60 *li* from the Ch'ingho gate in the palisade separating Manchuria from Chihli. He immediately put himself at the head of his men and made a dash for the enemy. Forty or more of them were killed, twenty-nine, including the rebel leader, Kuo Wan-ch'ang, were made prisoners, and over one

hundred of them were burnt to death. A great quantity of flags and ammunition was captured and the remnant of the rebels made their escape to Tamiao, Chulêkotai, and other places. On the 25th November the enemy were pursued as far the latter place where they mustered to the number of about one thousand and four hundred, all well armed and prepared to hold their ground against the Imperial troops. The general, at the head of his men, led the attack which lasted from early morning till late in the afternoon, and ended in the complete defeat of the rebels, whose loss amounted to several hundreds. The rebels gained possession of a hill and were able to effect their retreat, but they were being hotly pursued.

On the 28th November a report was received from the military commandant of Yichou and the prefect, in which they stated that having discovered the presence of brigands on the frontier they despatched a force of troops to operate against them. About eighty of the enemy were encountered at a place called Shuich'üant'un and several women, fully armed, were noticed in their ranks. The enemy swarmed to the attack, but were driven back and obliged to take refuge in a compound which was stormed by the Imperial troops. In the *mêlée* which ensued a lieutenant had both his hands badly hacked, and another officer received a severe wound. Two of the rebels were killed, one man and one woman, and the head of the sect, Tu Pa-shih, met with the same fate. Nine others, including two females, subsequently fell fighting. The rebel leader Yang Ming managed to make his escape, but five of his confederates were captured alive.

On the 28th November Captain Yi Sang-a telegraphed that in an engagement which he had fought two days previously with the rebels he had slaughtered seventy or eighty of them and taken twenty prisoners. Such is the substance of the reports that have been received from the various columns operating against the rebels, and it shows that the troops have acquitted themselves with dashing bravery and have gained successes in the actions that have so far taken place. The number of the rebels in the three departments and districts of Ch'aoyang, Chiench'ang, and P'ingch'üan is very large, and close communication is maintained between the numerous branches of the rebel force. On the 23rd of November, Yü Lu sent re-inforcements under

the command of Captain Ch'êng Nan-sên to assist in the operations that are being conducted against the enemy in the Ch'aoyang district. Recent reports show that bands of rebels are plundering, murdering, and burning in the vicinity of Hsinlitun and Halat'aolikai. These two places are quite close to the districts of Kuangning and Hsinmin in the lower province of Manchuria and it is feared that the movement, if not checked, may spread across the frontier. Strong reinforcements have been sent to this locality under the command of General Chang Yung-ch'ing. The memorialists promise to furnish the Throne from time to time with all the reports that reach them on the subject.—Rescript already published.—(*Ibid*, 12th December.)

VIII.

A Decree. We have received a memorial from Yeh Chih-ch'ao in which he reports that the Imperial troops have gained successes over the rebels at Maochiawop'u and have dislodged the rebel encampment in the neighbourhood of Kaoêrhêng. On the 2nd and 3rd of the present month the rebels of Hsich'iaot'ou fell back and joined their forces with those of Maochiawop'u, the aggregate force amounting to over two thousand men prepared to stake their lives in the defence of their stronghold. On the 4th they were attacked from different sides by the troops under Colonel P'an Wan-ts'ai and another officer named Chiang Kuang-tung, with the result that they were defeated with great loss and obliged to seek shelter in a village. Here they were again assailed on three sides and completely routed. Over ten prominent leaders were killed, amongst them being the so-called Princes Chao Chin-kuei and Hsü Hsiao-chih, and the *soi disant* Marquis Ch'ên Chang. The number of the killed comprised three hundred mounted brigands and over one thousand of the rebels belonging to the rationalist sect. The quantity of arms and flags that fell into the hands of the Imperialists was past all computation, and one so-called Prince, Liu Hsien-t'ang, who was captured alive, was instantly decapitated. On the 6th of December the three originators of the movement, Wang T'ing-hsü, Sung Hsüo-chih, and Sung Lo-ta were captured at a place called Erhshihchiatzû and immediately decapitated. Another detachment of the rebels, which had encamped at a place called Kaoêrhêng in the Chien-ch'ang district, was attacked by the

troops under the command of Brigadier General Tsêng T'êng-fang who gained a series of victories over them, capturing the books of their membership, killing a great number of them, and taking alive eight of their prominent leaders, all of whom were decapitated on the spot. Another band, led by a Taoist priest named Wu Kuang-shêng, was completely exterminated. Brigadier General Lin Fu-shan reported having captured in the neighbourhood of Chiench'ang the *soi disant* Prince entitled "Subduer of the West," T'ung Chieh, who was handed over to the magistrate for trial and punishment. All the country in the vicinity of Kaoêhtêng is now tranquil, and the campaign against the rebels has been conducted with marked success. Let Yeh Chih-ch'ao take advantage of his present success to make a concentrated assault upon the enemy and leave not a remnant of them to cause further disturbance.

We have received a memorial from Ting An and his colleagues reporting further successes against the rebels in the Ch'ao yang district. Ting An despatched troops to make a concerted attack upon them and gained repeated victories. The rebels retreated and took up a position in the neighbourhood of Ch'aopeiyingtsü. Here they were attacked on the 3rd and 7th of December by the troops under General Chang Yung-ch'ing. Over 1,000 of the enemy were captured or killed. Following up this success, the Imperialists assailed the rebel encampment at Chaoshukow and captured a noted ringleader named Li Chiao-ming, who was decapitated on the spot. General Fêng Shêng-a advanced against the rebels in the direction of Tamiao and the Palace of the Mongolian *Pei-tsü*, killing over 100 of them in the engagement which ensued and capturing twenty prisoners, amongst whom were a leader known as Ch'ên Lo-ming and a Taoist priest called Shêng Hsin-ts'ang, all of whom were summarily decapitated. General Nieh Kuei-lin pursued the rebels to a place called Hsinglungwa where he slaughtered about 150 of them. In a subsequent engagement the enemy lost over 600 of their men, one of their leaders, Hou K'o-chün, being captured and beheaded. The operations have so far been conducted with great success, and we command Ting An and Yü Lu to lose no time in joining their forces with those from Chihli and employing their concentrated strength in bringing about the total extermination of the various rebel bands.

Yeh Chih-ch'ao, the commander-in-chief of Chihli, submits a memorial giving a detailed account of the operations against the rebels and the victories which have been won by the troops under his command. The present memorial is in continuation of a previous report forwarded on the same subject. The memorialist himself has selected the town of P'ingch'üanchow for his headquarters. It occupies a central position, being 180 *li* east of Jêho, 190 *li* north of the Hsifêng Pass in the Great Wall, 180 *li* west of the district town of Chiench'ang, and about 200 *li* south of the country occupied by the Mongolian K'êlach'in Banner force, and is a suitable place from which to direct the operations of the campaign. Parties of troops are sent out daily to scour the country in every direction, and over 100 of the rebels have in this way been captured and beheaded. On the 30th of November, Colonel Han reported that two days previously he had discovered a division of the enemy numbering over 2,000 at a place called Wafangtien to the south-east of Chiench'ang. The Imperial commanders collected their troops with the view of making a combined onset upon the rebels. The latter came swarming in a dense mass, flouting flags and banners, and gave battle to the Imperial troops. The engagement which followed lasted five or six hours, and though the Imperialists fought with the utmost bravery, still the rebel position was not shaken. One of their leaders, who wore a Taoist cap and embroidered garments, was seen brandishing a sword in the thick of the fray and performing magical arts in a demoniacal attitude. Colonel Han and his men made a rush for the spot where he stood and cut him down. The main body of the rebel force was thrown into consternation by the loss of their leader, and being attacked on both front and rear, was completely routed. Over 500 fell in the engagement and 100 horses were found dead on the battle field. The enemy climbed up a steep hill and tried to effect their retreat, but they were cut off by the Imperialists who killed over 300 more of them in the pursuit. The whole ground was stained with blood and strewn with dead bodies. Ten prisoners were taken, and their examination elicited the fact that ten of their leaders were amongst the slain. The Imperialists lost two killed and had twenty men wounded. The memorialist remarks that since the beginning of the present outbreak this division of the rebels had wildly asserted their powers of witchcraft

and had worked upon the popular imagination. At first, they confined themselves to plundering and burning chapels and Mongol establishments and later on they took to harrying and killing the peaceable Chinese population. Their destruction has restored P'ingchüan and the vicinity to comparative tranquility, and it is thought that the experience of this branch of the rebel force will serve as a salutary lesson to their confederates elsewhere. The memorialist confesses that on reaching P'ingch'üan he was afraid that the forces at his disposal were insufficient to cope with the rebels. Thanks, however, to the picked men sent by the Viceroy, who marched a distance of between 700 to 800 *li* in less than five days, the situation is now entirely changed. The memorialist concludes by explaining the arrangements which he has made regarding the disposition of the troops under his command and solicits permission to submit, for the bestowal of rewards, the names of those of his officers and men who have distinguished themselves in action.—(*Ibid*, 17th December.)

VIII.

The following summary will be interesting :—

Peking Gazette, 6th December :—

More than 1,000 rebels killed in Ch'aoyang district.

The field strewn with bodies at Wukuanying.

Imperial loss not stated.

Peking Gazette, 11th December :—

More than 2,000 rebels slaughtered at Yüshulin.

Rebels utterly defeated east of Chiench'ang.

Imperial loss not stated.

Peking Gazette, 12th December :—

In the fighting at Ch'aoyang (see above) the Imperial loss was one petty officer killed, one severely wounded, and seven men wounded.

At Laoyeukou and Shuichuantien hundred of rebels were killed in battle and burnt to death, and two Imperial officers were wounded.

Peking Gazette, 17th December :—

At Maochiawop'u 1,300 rebels killed.

At Kaoêrhtêng great number of rebels killed, and another band completely exterminated.

At and near Chaopeiyintze over 2,000 rebels captured or killed.

At Wupangtien 800 rebels killed.

Imperial loss two killed and twenty wounded.

Peking Gazette, 21st December :—

Rebel victory in which 230 Imperialists were killed with a loss of twenty rebels.

Peking Gazette, 24th December :—

At Heichêngtze 1,000 rebels killed.

Imperial loss three wounded.

At Tachangtze over 1,300 rebels killed.

Imperial loss ten killed and thirty-five wounded.

Peking Gazette, 4th January :—

In two fresh engagements 800 rebels killed.

Imperial loss not stated.

Making a moderate allowance for the indefinite phrases which in some cases supply the place of figures, it appears that against a loss of some 300 men, the Imperial forces had slain up to the middle of December about 15,000 of the enemy. This estimate excludes the large numbers said to have been made prisoners.

Shanghai, 25th January, 1892.

IX.

To the Editor of

"THE CHINESE RECORDER."

MY DEAR DR. WHEELER,—Everything is absolutely quiet in and about Peking, and the same is true of Jêho. For a few days the minds of the people in the city were greatly disturbed, and the situation seemed alarming, but the edicts which afterwards appeared in the *Gazette* sufficed to quiet all fears. All the points that were in the hands of the rebels have been recaptured. A few days ago a fresh re-inforcement of cavalry, I hear, were sent north from Tientsin, and the government seems to be taking every precaution to prevent a fresh outbreak.

Since this note was begun, I have had a conversation with a native preacher of the London Mission, who has just returned from Ch'aoyang Hsien. He reports all quiet, and the rebels dispersed. From his account, it would seem that disturbances arose at two points—Pakou and Ch'aoyang—simultaneously, but

with no connection whatever. The trouble near Pakou originated in the hatred of the other Chinese for the Roman Catholics, and the immediate provocation, my informant tells me, was the killing of a member of the "Tsai-li-ti" sect by some Catholics in a brawl. The "Tsai-li-tis" persuaded the members of another sect, variously known as the "Chin-tan-tao," the "Hsiao-hao-tis" and the "Mi-mi-chiao," to unite with them in the work of destruction. The result was the complete demolition of the property of the Roman Catholics at Pakou and a town 90 *li* distant, called Sanshihchiatzû, and the loss of many lives.

The raid on Ch'aoyang Hsien, I understand, had no religious significance, and was made by armed robbers seeking plunder.

Rev. Mr. Parker, of the London Mission, escaped from the city and afterwards reached Tientsin in safety, but not without much suffering from the cold by the way.

Just now the government in the vicinity of the recent troubles seems to be bent on exterminating the disaffected sects, and have put to death a great many members of both sects. In all, it is estimated, from every cause connected with the troubles, 20,000 lives have been lost.

During a recent visit to Lanchou and Tsunhua, made by Dr. Hopkins, and Rev. W. T. Hobart, they were treated very kindly everywhere, but they learned that there was a decided feeling of hostility toward the Christians. The people seemed to blame them as the cause of the troubles, and accuse them of bringing danger upon the community. No distinction is made between Catholics and Protestants, but all alike are called "T'ien-chu-chiao." The native preacher of the London Mission, of whom I spoke above, was stopped by the official at Kupeik'ou and only allowed to proceed on his journey after he had proven that he was a Protestant and not a Catholic. Our missionaries at Tsunhua were treated with the utmost consideration by the local official. He promised, if it becomes necessary, to receive them into the yamên and protect them to the extent of his power. When they left, he secured conveyances for them and sent a guard with them and promised protection to the property and to the native Christians. He put a guard around the compound and put the native preacher, Tê Jui, in communication with the military official in charge of the troops about the city. After the troubles passed over, he invited the missionaries to return

and resume their work. Rev. Mr. Pyke and family and Miss Dr. Terry are now *en route* for the U. S., going now instead of a few months later, as they had previously planned. Dr. Hopkins and family will remain in Tientsin until after the Chinese New Year, as the weather is too cold for travelling with a little babe. Miss Hale will not return until they do. Meantime, the work is going on under the direction of the native brethren.

L. W. PILCHER.

Peking, 7th January, 1892.



THE RIOTS: THEIR CAUSES.

MR. DRUMMOND'S VIEWS (REBELLION).

I.

SIR,—In the course of conversations with you (as well as with a few others) during the past three years, the most recent occasion having occurred nearly a year ago, I made (*inter alia*) the following statements :—

(1) That the greater part of northern and mid-China is full of disaffection, and honeycombed with secret societies.

(2) That the provinces bordering on the river Yangtze are the most disaffected.

(3) That Nanking itself is the head centre.

(4) That the one object in which all the secret societies agree is the desire to destroy or drive out of China the present Manchu dynasty.

(5) That the method which these societies consider to be the most likely to enable them to effect their purpose is to embroil the present Government with Foreign Powers, so that if a war with a Foreign Power should occur, a favourable opportunity for a rebellion would then arise. And that even if war was not actually brought about, the state of friction would be such that no Foreign Power would be likely to sympathise with, or actively assist the Government of China.

(6) That no rising would take place so long as Tsêng Kuo-chuan was Viceroy of Nanking, but that his removal, or death, would lead to active preparations, and serious outbreaks, which would take the form of attacks upon foreign property in places in or near the Yangtze valley.

(7) That the secret societies have grown, and are growing rapidly in numbers, and strength; and that they include not only many officials, but some of high rank, both civil and military.

I also mentioned to you, shortly after it occurred, the fact that the Viceroy Tsêng having been granted leave to proceed to Peking, and having started overland, an accidental discovery was made in Nanking of a very serious conspiracy, the news of which having been immediately telegraphed to Peking, a telegram was sent ordering the Viceroy Tsêng to return at once to Nanking, and that this telegram having overtaken him on his journey, he at once retraced his steps, returned to Nanking and never again left it.

The Viceroy Tsêng died suddenly in November last. Liu Kun-yi was appointed Viceroy in his stead, and Shên Ping-chêng was appointed acting Viceroy until Liu Kun-yi took over charge of the post. Shên Ping-chêng handed over the seals of office to Liu Kun-yi on the 29th of April. During the few months that Shên Ping-chêng was in charge most daring burglaries took place in the Viceroy's own yamên, very valuable and important documents having been carried off and lost. And during this time the plans of the societies have been maturing.

You mentioned to me, on more than one occasion, that you had no information from any other sources tending to confirm any of the above statements; and that replies to questions you had put to persons who had opportunities of becoming well informed, did not tend to do so either, and that you naturally preferred to suspend your judgment.

The recent and rapidly thickening events induce me to ask you to allow me to place the foregoing facts upon record, and I do so for the purpose of showing that the present riots are not accidental and local momentary disturbances which could not have been foreseen, and which are likely to be merely evanescent, but that they might and ought to have been foreseen by the Foreign Ministers in China, and that preparations ought to have been made before, and ought to be vigorously made now for

the protection of foreign lives and property in this country. Foreign lives have not yet been lost in these so-called riots, but the mobs that are being worked up by the secret societies for their own purposes may at any time get beyond their control; and it is also probable that if the present outbreaks do not speedily involve the Chinese Government in serious difficulties with one or more Foreign Governments, that the next step will be the taking of foreign lives.

I am, etc.,

W. V. DRUMMOND.

Shanghai, 27th May.

II.

SIR,—The very serious disturbances that are now occurring in various places in mid-China, and in which two English lives have already been taken, and an immense amount of foreign-owned property destroyed, make it desirable that a true understanding should be arrived at as to the circumstances connected with, and the considerations bearing upon, these outbreaks.

Having made a special study of Chinese politics for many years, and more particularly of the undercurrents of the internal politics of China, I may perhaps be able to throw a little light upon what is to all foreigners confessedly a very dark and unfathomable subject.

In my letter to you of the 27th ult., I stated some of the conclusions which I had arrived at some years ago, and the events which have occurred since you published that letter on the 29th ult. seem to have corroborated in every detail the correctness of those conclusions. I now propose to make a few general observations upon certain points of special importance.

First; as regards the cause or causes of these disturbances. I have long been of opinion that a spirit of unrest has arisen, and has been rapidly growing in China, that it has grown much more rapidly during the last five years, and that it exists in much greater force in certain parts of China than in others. Its inception arose, I think, from an unconscious, and innate feeling, which would be considered and described by a certain class of politicians in England and America as one of healthy discontent. The "progressive desire" which seized upon Japan a generation

ago is beginning to work in China, and will run its course as surely and irresistibly as it has in that country, though very possibly in a different manner, and at a different pace. The feeling has as yet produced no articulate expression of the wrongs to be removed, the improvements to be achieved, or the results to be attained, but it has led to the banding together of enormous numbers of men in secret societies which seem to have agreed upon one point in common, namely, that the removal of the present Manchu dynasty, and the establishment of a purely Chinese dynasty on the throne, is the first object of their desires. Secret societies have undoubtedly existed in China from a remote period of history, but they have greatly increased in numbers of late years, and comprise all classes, both official, mercantile, and agricultural, the most important element at present being military officials and soldiers.

Next, as regards the forces that are now at work in connection with political movements in China. During the last thirty years or so, two provinces of China have risen to a commanding position, viz., Hunan and Anhui, and the rivalry now existing between the people of these two provinces, and which extends from the very highest to the lowest, is the dominant factor in the politics of the immediate future of China. The famous Tsêng family, and especially the great General Tsêng Kuo-fan, have been primarily instrumental in pushing forward the interests of their countrymen of Hunan, who are now the most martial people in China. The great Viceroy Li Hung-chang has unceasingly fostered the interests of his countrymen of Anhui. Apart from the Tartar garrisons, which are, with the exception of the force at Peking, of no real strength in any part of China, the great majority of the soldiers consist of Hunan and Anhui men. The Hunan men are so powerful at Nanking that no Viceroy, who is not a Hunan man and a soldier, can keep them under any control. The Hunan men are now the leading spirits in China, but since the death of the Viceroy Tsêng Kuo-chuan, last year, they have no recognised political chief. The Viceroy Li Hung-chang is unremittingly pushing forward the men of Anhui in every part of China. His brother Li Han-chang has the post next in importance to his own, viz., the Viceroyship of Canton, and Anhui men are rising rapidly in power everywhere. Liu Ming-chuan, who has just vacated the Governorship of Formosa, is a native of Anhui, and

in connection with his name an instance may be mentioned illustrating the feeling before referred to. It is not long since the Governor of Formosa had serious difficulties in coping with the savages who live in the hills and who broke out and attacked the Chinese. The Viceroy Li Hung-chang promptly sent Admiral Ting and some powerful ships of the Peiyang fleet to his assistance. The present disturbances on the Yangtze are far more serious, yet the Viceroy has not sent one of his ships to assist in quelling them, but has even kept a number of the best ships of the Nanyang fleet, which belongs to Nanking, lying idly at Weihaiwei with his own ships. The Governor of Formosa was an Anhui man, the Viceroy of Nanking is a Hunan man. The Viceroy Li has for many years past exercised all the power that he possesses by direct interference with Shanghai, although this place is entirely beyond his proper sphere of influence, and is within one of the provinces governed by the Viceroy of Nanking. He often succeeds in getting his *protégés* appointed to the Taotaihip of Shanghai, which is the second richest post in the Empire. The last one, Kung, was an Anhui man, and arrangements have been privately made already for the appointment of the Viceroy's son, who is now the Minister to Japan, as the next Shanghai Taotai. The Viceroy Li has also obtained the entire control of the China Merchants' Company, and is working energetically to keep a monopoly of cotton spinning enterprises here, in his own hands, and in many other ways is constantly striving to exercise a paramount influence at this, the most important place in China. The comparative inertness and weakness of the Nanking Viceroy's enable him to do this with very great success.

In reference to Shanghai, it may be worth mentioning that there are about four or five thousand soldiers posted in and near the native city, who are Hunan men, while there are about eight thousand at Woosung, who are Anhui men.

The Viceroy Li has a more thorough knowledge of what is going on in all parts of China than any other official, and if he had selected a different time for his inspection of the fleets and forts, and kept his powerful fleet of ironclads cruising in the Yangtze river instead, these terrible outbreaks at the river ports would never have happened. There is only one other point to which I will at present refer. The day has already arrived, when the internal politics of China are not only far more important

to her own interests but also to the interests of foreigners than the so-called Imperial politics of Peking. Far more can be learnt regarding the former at Shanghai than is known even to the Cabinet of the Chinese Government, must less to the Foreign Ministers at Peking, whose energies were exhaustively occupied in grappling with the solemn farce of an Imperial Audience while events long prepared and of momentous importance were on the eve of occurring. Nero fiddles while Rome is burning.

It needs only very ordinary intelligence to see now that the policy underlying the present series of outbreaks, which I sketched briefly in my former letter, is rapidly running its course to what appears likely to be a completely successful result. The French property already destroyed must have been worth many millions of taels. When the bills are sent in what is the Chinese Government going to do? It will not pay, but if not, what then? If the French submit to the loss their expulsion from China will be practically complete, and the position of all other foreigners will rapidly become intolerable until another foreign war inevitably occurs. I have only touched very briefly upon a very few points of importance, but my letter is already far longer than I had intended it to be.

I am, &c.,

W. V. DRUMMOND.

Shanghai, 11th June.

III.

SIR,—In regard to the recent outbreaks that have occurred it is very important that there should be no relaxation of vigilance. It must be remembered that they were wholly unexpected by the local officials, and by the foreigners themselves at each place; that none of the leaders have been caught; that nothing has been discovered as to the organisation of those who planned them; that they broke out almost simultaneously at a number of places, some of them over 500 miles apart, and in three different provinces; and that the method of procedure was almost identical in each place. I wish to add also a word of warning in regard to an event that will shortly take place, when the probabilities of danger will be greatly increased. This is the 10th day of the 5th moon (Chinese date), and on the 9th day of the 8th moon (11th Sept.)

the triennial Imperial examination will take place at Nanking. This will therefore be about three months hence. The average attendance of students on these occasions at Nanking is from 27,000 to 30,000. Each of these has one servant, and the vendors of food and various other articles, who come in there to sell to the students, number about 50,000. There are therefore on such occasions about 100,000 people at one time in Nanking, nearly all of whom are strangers to the place, or visitors merely. The examination lasts nine days and nights, and the Governor of Anhui, Shên Ping-chên (who was recently acting Viceroy of Nanking, and whose head-quarters are at Ngankin, where a riot recently occurred) will be shut up in the examination halls during the whole time. This duty falls alternately upon the Governors of Anhui and Soochow, and on the next occasion the duty belongs to the former. About sixteen years ago, when Li Tsung-hsi was the Viceroy of Nanking, three men got in amongst the students, and had planned an outbreak, in concert with a number of disbanded soldiers outside. The Viceroy accidentally discovered it, and going in himself, he caught the ringleaders, who were summarily executed and the rising was nipped in the bud. It is therefore very probable that another outbreak may be planned to take place at Nanking during the coming examination, and it is also probable that risings may be planned to take place simultaneously at other places. It should also be remembered that twenty-one years ago, the then Viceroy of Nanking, Ma Sing-i, was killed three days before the Imperial examination took place at Nanking, and it is undoubtedly the case that these examinations are dangerous times, and especially so when the country is in a disturbed state. A point to be borne in mind is this. The immediate cause of the outbreaks was the fact that the new Viceroy of Nanking had struck off the pay lists a very large number of military officials of various ranks and degrees, the actual amount of money saved by these economies being about Tls. 100,000 a year. He had distinct warning that if he persisted in this step, attacks would be made upon foreign property everywhere, and especially within his provinces. Two other threats were made previously but this threat was the latest. It has been carried out to a very great extent. The Viceroy will now have to find the money to pay for the damage. The question then arises, will he still persist in the course of economy that he has adopted or will he put these men back on the pay roll?

If he puts them back, it will be a proof of great weakness and will almost invite further aggression. If he still refuses, the secret societies, to which all, or nearly all, these military officials belong, will very likely proceed to take still more violent measures to accomplish their purpose.

In my last letter I mentioned my belief in the existence of a general feeling of unrest in a great part of China. This feeling has merely prepared the soil to receive the seeds of action, and the floods and droughts that have ravaged so large a part of northern and central China during the last few years have naturally added causes of great and active discontent to those already existing in the minds of many millions of the people. To those who take any interest in discussing, or endeavouring to acquire information as to the relative position of Hunan and Anhui men in China, I may mention that this question is always referred to by Chinese who have any knowledge of the subject under the terms "Shang," and "Huai," the former meaning the Hunan soldiers, and the latter Anhui soldiers.

I am, etc.,

W. V. DRUMMOND.

Shanghai, 16th June.

IV.

SIR,—The letters of Mr. Griffith John, and "A.," in your issue of the 14th inst. (printed in another page) are very interesting contributions to the great question of the day in this part of the world, viz. : What is the real cause of the recent outbreaks? They seem to have arrived at the same conclusion, and to be of opinion that the cause is the deliberate determination of the Chinese Government to expel all foreigners from the country, and to take their chance in the foreign war that will of course be inevitable before they can succeed in effecting their object. That is a clear, and intelligible proposition, and it is supported by much allegation, and argument. It is entirely inconsistent with, and in fact directly opposed to the theory given in my letters to you about four months ago, and if it is correct, war between China and Foreign Powers must be imminent, and inevitable. It is, as Mr. John says, very important that a correct diagnosis should be made at this critical time and that opinions should be freely expressed.

Mr. John writes contemptuously of "cobweb theories;" does he mean to imply that all theories differing from the one that he has formed are worthless? If so, his invitation to others to express their opinions must be limited to those who agree with him. Mr. John, having formulated his "idea," as he says, "fathers" it on the "governing classes," and considers that the "congenial home" necessary for its development has been found in Hunan. In my letters to you published early in June last I referred to the very important part the Hunan men were taking and were likely to take in this movement, and as I see no reason for changing any of the views which I expressed in my previous letters, and as I consider that subsequent events have tended strongly to confirm the correctness of those views, I do not propose to criticise the theories of others, but merely to make a few more observations, in the same direction as those I have already made, leaving it to time to prove who has the more correctly diagnosed the present political situation in China.

I will merely add in regard to the new theory that while it is undoubtedly correct to say that the Government is responsible for all the riots, it is, in my opinion, as undoubtedly absurd to say that the Chinese Government is causing them purposely, as part of a settled policy. The Government has everything to lose and nothing to gain by so doing, and its interests and therefore its wishes must be in exactly the opposite direction.

The Anhui-Hunan question is steadily and even rapidly progressing towards an acute stage, and from several indications I think that it is not at all improbable that we may see the Viceroys of Canton and Nanking changing places before long. The present Viceroy of Canton, Li Han-chang, is an Anhui man, and therefore ineligible, according to the ordinary Chinese rule, of becoming Viceroy of Nanking, but we have seen so many instances of late years, of these rules being relaxed, or ignored, for special reasons, that it is not likely that the rule would be allowed to stand in the way. The Government is, I believe, really alarmed at the attitude of the Hunan men, not only in their own province, but also in all the provinces adjacent to the Yangtze river, and will probably make some efforts to break up their present power and disposition for mischief. If they do not do this both quickly and effectually, the very existence of the Government, and of the dynasty itself, will be in the utmost peril. The great difficulty

which the Government has to face is that the only power which it can call into play to overawe and dissipate the power of the Hunanese, consists of Anhui officers and troops, as the Tartar troops are useless for this purpose. The step will be a very critical one, but the necessity for it has arisen entirely through the fault of the Government in allowing the military power to be concentrated in the natives of two provinces only, and in allowing the men of one of these provinces to obtain such a preponderating position throughout so many provinces in mid-China, that it cannot be evaded or postponed. The evil is growing rapidly greater every day, and if the Chinese Government does not quickly and thoroughly deal with it, there is no doubt that the Foreign Powers must do so, or much worse things will happen than any that have happened yet. At the present moment the dilatoriness of the Chinese Government in taking active steps seems only equalled by the dilatoriness of the Foreign Powers, and every day's delay now will necessitate many days of hard work very soon. The fact that the work that the Chinese Government has to do is a very critical and dangerous one, is in no sense an apology for inaction, but quite the contrary. It is a very strong reason why that action should not be delayed for a day, for the work *must be done*, and the longer it is delayed, the harder and more dangerous it will be.

The Government has not only to satisfy the just demands of the Treaty Powers for the recent outrages, but to take sufficient measures to prevent any recurrence. The way in which the latter object can be attained is by reducing the military power now absorbed by Hunan and Anhui men to reasonable proportions, and spreading it amongst the natives of as many different provinces as possible. This is absolutely necessary for the safety of the Government itself, as well as for that of foreigners residing in China, and there is therefore no reason or excuse for any delay.

The Hunanese, by means of the secret societies which are principally controlled by them, have made great advances in their schemes this year; they have received no check at all as yet, and the only step taken so far, in disbanding and sending home a certain number of them, is wholly insufficient.

The following details may be of interest in connection with the great Shang Huai question.

In the provinces of Kiangnan and Kiangsu (inland) which are both under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy of Nanking, the following Generals commanding troops are all Hunan men:—Tan Pi-li, Commander-in-chief of Kiangnan; Sün Sung-ping, General of the Langshan district; Huan Pau-fu, General of the Fusan district; Tsü Hwai-seng, General of the Soochow and Sungkiang prefectures. Nearly the whole of the troops in these provinces, exclusive of the garrisons, are under these generals.

In the five provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Anhui, Kiangsi, and Kiangsu (bordering on the river) the following Generals are also all Hunan men:—Li Chêng-mao, Admiral of the Yang-tze river; Wu Kia-pang, General of the Kwachow district; Ting Yi-fan, General of the Hukao district in Kiangsi; Lo Chin-shun, General of the Ichang district in Hupeh. The General of the Yochow district in Hunan, name unknown. Nearly the whole of the troops in these four provinces are under the above generals. In this province, Kiangsu, the only general who holds an important command and who is an Anhui man, is Tsao Kan-tang, who is in charge of the Woosung forts.

The Hunan men hold a great number of high military posts, but very few indeed hold very high civil rank, and very few Hunanese comparatively, are being promoted civilly. The Anhui men not only hold many military commands but as regards civil promotion they are far more favoured at present than those of any other provinces.

The Navy is falling wholly into the hands of the natives of Fukien and Ningpo, the former filling the ships of the Peiyang (Northern) squadron, and the latter those of the Nanyang (Southern) squadron, but their numbers are too small yet to be of political importance.

I am, etc.,

W. V. DRUMMOND.

Shanghai, 16th October.

V.

SIR,—The latest news that I have is to the following effect. The Chinese Government has, as you know, translations laid before it regularly of the contents of your columns. My letters to you have received much consideration, and secret enquiries having

been made, the conclusion has been arrived at that the statements in regard to the danger now existing from the monopoly of military power by the Hunan and Anhui men, and in regard to the necessity for prompt and vigorous action, are correct and true. Orders have been already given for the enlistment and drilling of troops, in other provinces, especially at Canton, and it is intended to send these as soon as they are ready, which will be in the spring, to the Yangtze provinces, and to break up the Hunan predominance by disbanding and dispersing a large proportion of Hunan troops. It is also said to be arranged that as soon as it is considered safe, a Viceroy, who is not a Hunan man, will be sent to Nanking. As I have previously stated, the necessity for this policy is undoubted, and the time when it comes to be actually carried into effect will be critical.

The conduct of the Government in reference to its treatment of officials who are known to be actively hostile to foreigners appears to have given rise to the conclusion that the Government itself is actuated by a policy of deliberate intention to drive foreigners out of the country, and to use any weapons they can find for the purpose. Experience, in my opinion, goes to show that while the Government dislikes and dreads the effect of actual outrages against foreigners, yet that officials who are known to be strongly anti-foreign in sentiment never have been, and never will be, in disfavour with the Government. As the presence of foreigners with special privileges, and treaty rights, is always regarded as an incubus upon China, such officials are naturally regarded as men of the highest patriotism, and worthy of encouragement by the Government so long as they do not involve the Government in actual hostilities with Foreign Powers. Such a policy of course involves a great deal of duplicity and the constant risk of friction, but it cannot be considered as an unnatural one for the Government of China, or any other Government in the same position as regards foreigners living within its boundaries. So long as the present *status* lasts, and there is certainly at present no possibility of predicting the time when it can safely be altered, so long must foreign governments make, not only occasional display, but also occasional use of their power to maintain it. Too long a remission of any proof or even display of power is sure to lead to a recurrence of danger.

As the condition of the provinces near the Yangtze is such as to constitute a serious danger to the Chinese Government as well as to the lives and property of foreigners, and as the Government is now well aware of this danger, there is no reason to doubt that the efforts to break up the Hunan-Anhui monopoly of military power will be vigorously prosecuted, and if this can be successfully completed before any general outbreak occurs, the danger of rebellion will be averted. The fact, however, that the change is to be made is becoming known, and adds considerably to the gravity of the present situation.

I am, etc.,

W. V. DRUMMOND.

Shanghai, 10th November.

VI.

SIR,—The following brief statement of a few incidents connected with current events may be of interest. It is hardly surprising that native piece goods merchants in Shanghai should hesitate to clear and ship goods to the ports as they usually do at this season of the year, or that Chinese bankers should hesitate to give the usual facilities, and that the trade should consequently be in an abnormal state of stagnation.

Many years ago there was a man named Li Sze-tsung, otherwise known as Li Sang-shao, who was formerly a Taiping leader, and who, having surrendered to the Chinese Government, was afterwards made the Chief General of this province, *i.e.*, Kiangnan Titu. He was afterwards impeached and deprived of all his rank, and ordered to remain in Ngankin, in Anhui, and subsequently, having got into fresh trouble, was beheaded by the order of Yü Lu, then Governor of Anhui. Yü Lu is a Manchu official who was Acting Viceroy of Nanking when Tsêng Kuo-chüan started for Peking but was ordered to return after proceeding only a short distance. Yü Lu is now Governor of Shingking. Li Sze-tsung had a son named Li Hung. At the beginning of this Chinese month, the tenth month, the Viceroy Chang Chih-tung arrested some secret society men at Wuchang, and it was discovered that the man Li Hung was one of the leaders of the proposed rebellion, also that it was planned to commence an outbreak by an attempt to seize Nanking on the 25th day of this

moon (the 26th instant), and to make a simultaneous attempt to seize Shashi near Wuchang, and all the country along the Yangtze valley between that place and Chinkiang. It was also discovered that it had been planned to commence the outbreak at the beginning of the ninth moon (October), but in consequence of the failure to get possession of the arms to be brought up by Mason and others from Hongkong, it was postponed and then the later date was fixed. The man Li Hung has fled and efforts are now being made in every direction for his arrest.

The Viceroy Chang Chih-tung is arranging to get up 10,000 Cantonese troops to station in his provinces, and will get these as soon as he can.

The Viceroy at Nanking has sent a despatch to the Shanghai Taotai giving the names of eight Chinese in good positions in Shanghai, some of them being compradores of foreign firms here, and demanding their arrest as being concerned in the conspiracy to aid a rebellion. No action has been taken on this despatch as yet, the Taotai being afraid to raise such a thorny question.

I am, etc.,

W. V. DRUMMOND.

Shanghai, 16th November.

"SPES'" VIEWS (GOVERNMENT INCAPACITY).

I.

SIR,—Passing events show most unmistakeably that China is just now in a most serious and critical position and that a great national calamity is looming in the near future. How to steer the ship of State through such imminent dangers as those with which Central China is beset is a problem which may well occupy the mind of every patriotic statesman in the Empire as well as call forth the advice and sympathy of every foreign resident. For people whose interests are blended through commercial or other pursuits with those of the "Middle Kingdom" it is high time to begin to investigate the bearings of the coming crisis in connection with the different phases of foreign intercourse. To diagnose the case and to prescribe a remedy we must try and get at the origin of the trouble. As a step in this direction I propose to inquire into the chief causes that have brought about these pending dangers.

It is necessary in the first place to go back to the times of the Taiping rebellion. About a million of extra soldiers were enrolled under the Imperial banners from first to last. They fought under various leaders—notably under Tséng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang. A large proportion were Hunan men, who with a constitutional love for military pursuits and a wandering life, left their farms and their families, allured by the pay and the chances of military preferment. But the rebellion being over and the rebels crushed the work of the Government was really only half completed. It was one of the few mistakes made by the talented and renowned Tséng Kuo-fan that no provision was made to settle this million or so of disbanded soldiers, and to ensure their return to steady and regular habits. These "Hunan braves" had made a name for themselves. They had to a great extent saved the country. They had passed successfully through campaign after campaign. They had grown accustomed to living on the results of other men's labour. Looting and levying blackmail upon the harmless country people were not only necessities but afforded a congenial and profitable means of employing their energies. The poor villagers dreaded a visit from the Imperial troops even more than from the rebels. And now the rebellion being over what were they to do? Could they go quietly to their homes in Hunan and other provinces, and settle down to the patient, humdrum plodding task of cultivating the ground under the control of petty farmers on wages barely enough for their subsistence? Not likely! Their families did not want them. They knew a great deal too much for the untravelled rustics. There was no dearth of labourers. What they wanted was a regularly organised system by which they could find suitable and peaceful employment. For instance, millions of acres of waste land could easily have been given them by the Government on free or very easy terms. Not only in the eighteen provinces but in the outside dependencies there is only too much land lying waste, only waiting for some opportunity to render it a valuable acquisition to the wealth of the country. To have a piece of land of considerable extent on condition of living on it and cultivating it, and thus become a landed proprietor would have been a sufficient inducement for most of them. The repairing of river courses or the laying out of good macadamised roads all over the Empire, as the precursors of railways, would

have found employment for others ; while the best of them might have been formed into a standing army which by proper training and management might have proved a blessing to the Empire, and gradually superseded the almost useless Imperial forces,—mostly on paper,—which are one of the great disgraces and weaknesses of the nation. In these and other ways which we need not stop to point out, this dangerous element in the nation might have been modified or removed and future evils averted. There was plenty of money to carry out such schemes with,—money spent in armaments, arsenals, warships and other useless “white elephants.” And how was the difficulty met? The more troublesome of the “Braves” were, it is said, pensioned off. A long list of pensioners was drawn up, who received an allowance from the Viceroy or other high officers. Their number being fixed, neither the hand of time nor the hand of death could diminish it. As old men died off new ones came from Hunan to take their places, and hence grew up a public abuse and a fraud that had to be handed down to posterity, involving to a certain extent the whole of Central China, but more especially Nanking and the River ports. The pensioners having no regular duties, settled down to no regular calling. They could wander about from place to place, with enough to live on, indulging either in opium or in robbery and theft, and joining the Ko-lao or other secret societies, they could do pretty much as they pleased, defying the arm of the law, through their combinations among themselves. This pension allowance seems to have been more of a private arrangement between the great Tsêng family and their adherents from Hunan, than a public affair. The tendency of the list was to grow larger rather than smaller, and hence on the death of the late Viceroy at Nanking, the only chance to keep these “war hounds” quiet was for his successor to continue the pensions. The fear that these pensions would be discontinued, or perhaps the actual discontinuance of them, may be safely regarded as the chief cause of the present riotous state of things. Foreigners are the objects against whom the attacks are nominally directed, but this is only with a view of bringing about a collision between Chinese and foreign nations, and thus bringing the high officials of Central China into trouble and disgrace, necessitating, perhaps, a war with foreign countries in which either as Imperial soldiers or as marauders they will find employment to their

heart's content. At any rate they doubtless think it would appear to the high officials more economical to continue the pensions than to have to pay the heavy indemnities that foreigners will insist upon.

Another cause is to be found in the fact that there is great disaffection all over China with the present dynasty. Anything would be better in the eyes of numbers of the thinking and suffering Chinese than the evils of the present state of officialdom. But how to get a new Government is the question. By involving China in war with foreign nations, a new Government might result, and even if it were a foreign government it could not be worse than the present. The hope of the Taiping rebels at one time was, that Foreign Powers would take and hold China. Even when the allied French and English troops captured Peking the whole nation was said to be ready at once to accept foreign rule. May it not be the case that these disaffected classes are easily brought into sympathy with the Ko-lao Society or the Hunan "braves," and that they think by involving the country in war with Foreign Powers, the long-wished for opportunity will arise, and the evils of the present Government may be remedied by a change?

Again, the centre of China, and especially the Yangtze river, has suffered in many ways from the introduction of river steamers. The whole of the Yangtze trade has changed hands. The old junk stations are no longer patronised or needed. Tens of thousands of people who got their living, either in junks or on shore, have been cast loose upon the world. It takes a long time for a Chinese family living away from the treaty ports to adapt itself to the changes that Western civilisation necessitates, and to seek new means of getting a livelihood. These people also are a dangerous class. They have no good feeling toward foreigners, and easily fall into the ways of thinking of those who have no regular business to depend upon.

Once more, there are those who used to get their living by the transport of tribute rice to the north, but are now thrown out of employment. No new kind of employment is open to them and hence a large section of disaffected people who from time immemorial have been used to gaining their living in this manner is now at large, ready for anything good or bad that promises an

alleviation of their troubles, or a way of getting a living without working for it. The famine and flood refugees no doubt help to swell the number of these people, and make things worse.

Again the treaty ports and other places up the river abound with opium dens. The various disaffected classes above mentioned find it a an easy business to start an opium den. The capital involved is next to nothing, and the profits are large. In these dens congregate the worst classes—desperate men ready for anything. They will borrow money or extort it ; they will lay conspiracies, and organise to commit robberies in out of the way places. Many districts are infested with this trouble to a lamentable extent, and the pusillanimous officials either cannot or will not use the necessary means to check such outrages. Without these opium dens such classes would hardly have any place of rendezvous. There is scarcely any crime that these opium fiends will not perpetrate if their supply of opium is thereby ensured, or their creditors insist on it. It is in these dens that much of the present trouble is brewed.

Lastly, and I must be brief, the regular army of China is about as bad as it could be. It exists, to a great extent, on paper only. How many men out of every hundred that pay is drawn for, exist at all? And how many that exist ever get their full pay? Even those who are properly looked after are merely subordinate because it is greatly to their interest to be so. It is said that in the various camps of Imperial soldiers everywhere in this and the adjacent provinces, a large proportion are members of the Ko-lao society. A stoppage of their pay, or a command to do what their society would not allow of, would cause them to mutiny at once. The officials know this. A call to actual service would thin out their ranks greatly.

With such various elements in the population of Central China, and especially at the river ports, is it any wonder that we hear of riots and troubles? The wonder is that the evils are not ten times greater than they are. With such a rotten and corrupt officialdom and with grievances real or imaginary that the Chinese suffer from, and strive to remedy in such a lawless manner, is it not the duty of foreign nations at once to take far-seeing steps to protect their commercial interests and the lives of their subjects and citizens? Where is the Chinese navy? Where are the ironclads, the cruisers and gunboats, and the armaments that the

Government has fooled away so many millions of taels upon? Why were they not sent up the river at once to suppress these scenes of murder and violence? If in a crisis like this, the Chinese navy can be made of no use, of what earthly use is it ever going to be? Let the Chinese Government show its sincerity and power by sending one or two of its well equipped gunboats to each port on the river. They have plenty of warships to do it with. A government that possesses such a large and powerful navy, and yet will let it rot at anchor while the subjects and citizens of treaty powers are openly massacred or driven from their homes in spite of all treaty stipulations, is thereby the enemy of every civilised nation, and cannot and must not be allowed to go "scot free." The longer Foreign Powers stand idly by and condone such atrocity, the worse matters are likely to grow. The means that should at once be adopted to meet the pressing emergencies of the moment, and the further steps that it will be necessary to take to ensure permanent peace and order, are subjects which I hope to take up at no distant date.

I am, etc.,

SPES.

Shanghai, 10th June.

II.

SIR,—My letter of the 10th inst. pointed out what seemed to me to be the chief causes that have produced the swarms of idle, disaffected and lawless people that now infest the central parts of China and more especially the valley of the Yangtze. They are proving themselves more and more to be an exceedingly dangerous element in the population, and one that will inevitably sooner or later tax to its very utmost the powers of the Imperial Government as well as the patience and forbearance of foreigners. It is now therefore high time to ask the all-important question, by what means can the present state of anarchy be quelled or checked most quickly and safely, so that the danger which menaces the lives and property of foreign residents may be averted. Although so serious, I do not believe matters have yet become so bad as some alarmists seem to imagine. A little care and patience may even now enable us to tide over the difficulties pressing themselves so heavily upon us. In past years all the

riots against foreigners have soon blown over, and therefore there is reason to hope that the present waves of trouble will ere long have spent their strength, and a temporary calm will follow. Let us therefore confine our attention to means adapted to the present emergencies, and leave the consideration of more permanent plans till we are out of all danger.

First and foremost then it behoves foreigners to keep up a bold front everywhere. We must evince no symptoms of fear or trepidation. Let us ask for a moment what it is that has enabled a mere handful of foreigners to hold their ground in China so long? Nothing but the fact of our having virtually conquered China, and captured the capital, holding it till a very heavy indemnity and a treaty considered more or less ignominious by all classes of natives, had been exacted. We must remember that we are living here mainly dependent on our old prestige. We have shown what we can do to China, and the lesson has been a salutary one. The average foreigner at the ports has since been regarded as an individual to be feared and humoured but not to be trifled with or injured, at least openly. He is to be tricked and cajoled at every opportunity. He is to be flattered and cheated, but never ruffled or excited. He has most likely a revolver in the corner of his pocket or a rifle in his bed-room, and untold numbers of inevitable gunboats ready to come and back him up whenever his Consul or his Minister holds up a little finger. His nature is as ferocious as his language is violent. He is best soothed by being invited to a big dinner. When his stomach is full of half-raw beef, or indigestible plum-pudding, and he has taken his fill of the wonderful "Shanping" wine, then he becomes mollified so as to be more easily hook-winked, and made to think black is white. In no other way can he be dealt with openly or satisfactorily either by native merchants or officials. Reports of his vices, only too true, alas, combined with accounts of his wondrous scientific and mechanical skill, spread far and wide into the interior. He can tame the lightning into his service. He can produce "water thunder" that will destroy at a distance the largest ship. His "steam carriage" flies over the land like the wind. He is verily a being to be feared, a sort of demi-god, or the impersonation of a fiend, only tolerated because there is no opposing him and no means of dislodging him. The missionary, with perhaps his wife and family

living a pure and blameless life, with his comfortable house, his apparent abundance of ready money, freely lavished on churches, bibles, schools and hospitals, is of course an enigma. Something must be at the back of what he comes to China to accomplish. Is he demented, or has he not rather some deep-laid sinister motive for all he does? Although apparently so harmless, and generally so conciliatory, he is of course backed up by the other classes of foreigners, and is not to be meddled with; but rather to be let severely alone, and only passively resisted, for fear of unpleasant consequences!

It is this wholesome, or perhaps unwholesome, fear of foreigners that has more than anything else enabled us to hold our ground in China with comparative ease for upwards of a quarter of a century. Every attempt at riotous conduct against us has been quickly visited with the rod. The Tientsin massacre, the Margary murder, the Foochow, Têngchow, Chinkiang, Wênchow, Canton, and other riots have been soon checked, and indemnities paid with scarcely a murmur. A few heads have been cut off; a few tens of thousands of taels have been paid; oil has been poured on the troubled waters and all has then gone on as before. Foreigners have shown themselves equal to the occasion every time. And this is undoubtedly because they have shown a bold front, both individually and collectively, justifying the estimation in which they are held by all classes in China. In the present very trying circumstances at the River ports we must be very careful to keep up our prestige. Once lose it and we have to fight our old battles over again. In Shanghai, the stronghold of foreign interests and of foreign power, we must, if need be, follow in the steps of our predecessors, who, by their firmness, drove away the Taiping rebel hosts, manned the city walls, and gained a world-wide renown. We must be prepared for the worst, although at present there is not any danger whatever locally.

In the next place we must everywhere hold our ground, and not budge an inch unless driven away by overpowering force. The Chinese, like ourselves, think it is only the "wicked" that "flee when no man pursueth; but the righteous is bold as a lion." I do not hesitate to say that some of our Riverine troubles have been augmented, if not actually commenced, because the missionaries and their families left their homes. Nothing deters a Chinese mob more than a resolute holding of one's hearth and home!

At the first sign of a retreat the cowardly spirit of the populace is aroused into action. The sympathy of numbers begins to tell, and thus emboldened they will stop short at nothing. I am confidently informed by one missionary that the mob which attacked a house thus deserted consisted almost entirely of the worst classes of the neighbours, and when the missionary re-appeared on the scene, the rioters fell back, and were subdued or scattered without much difficulty. Some of us doubtless remember how during the troubles at Têngchow many years ago, a single missionary standing in his doorway and armed with a revolver kept a large crowd at bay for hours, as did Mr. Nichols recently at Nanking. If the foreigners go away, the populace supposes the houses and effects are given up to them and hence are a lawful prey to whoever can first take possession. Firing the premises enables the looting to be more easily effected. To retreat before any molestation has been attempted is not only to invite, but encourage idle rumours, and to bring on the very troubles that might otherwise have been averted. This, though a general rule, admits of many exceptions.

Again, we must not allow ourselves to be too easily intimidated by mere placards or idle rumours. For the simple love of mischief, or the fun of seeing how easily foreigners are to be scared, a man will scrawl a few threatening words on a sheet of paper, and in the dead of night affix it to the wall of a foreigner's dwelling. The foreigner sees it, grows alarmed, packs up his goods and decamps. This is just what was intended. The Chinaman chuckles at his discovery of a plan to intimidate the foreigner whom he has hitherto, perhaps, hated as much as feared. Once let the worst classes of Chinese think that we are to be terrified by a sheet of paper, and we shall have the same thing repeated all over the Empire, while a single foreigner is left to play the ruse upon. To pay attention to the many idle rumours that are set afloat by these dangerous classes is equally absurd. They are like Dr. Cummings' predictions of the end of the world. When the terrible day is past and people begin to breathe freely, another date not far ahead is fixed; and so on, to keep up the ferment. Old residents in Shanghai may remember the time when such rumours were periodical, two or three *per annum*, and no body minded them. If foreigners accept them and act as if they were

true, the natives will also be inclined to act on them; and they may thus easily become prophecies true to the very day and hour.

Another point worthy of notice is the capital which some foreign alarmists in Shanghai seem to make of the fact that the mission houses are now guarded by Chinese soldiers. This is proof positive in the eyes of many people both foreign and native, that there must really be trouble close at hand; else why these precautions? They are taken, as I understand on good authority, by order of the Viceroy, so that the timid may not work up a panic and desert their houses. If this is done on anything like a large scale, and a fleet of gunboats is sent for from foreign countries, a heavy bill to pay is what the officials anticipate. Hence these precautions—which are not taken in the case of Shanghai because there is any danger whatever, but merely to prevent foreign missionaries and others from growing unnecessarily alarmed, and making a mountain out of a mole-hill.

Once more, missionaries, and especially those of the Roman Catholic persuasion, would do well to throw open their churches and educational establishments more completely to the Chinese public. The neighbouring officials and gentry should be invited to come and look round their buildings while the motive and character of their philanthropic work are explained. Having nothing to conceal, and everything to gain by making the true nature of their work more widely known, they would soon dispel all the bad rumours that are currently circulated about them. There is a natural tendency to think evil of what is apparently kept guarded from public view.

Lastly, it must be borne in mind that the rioters at the River ports are not bands of marauders, wandering about from place to place like the Taiping rebels, bent only on general destruction. They are the lower classes resident at these places, and have no general organisation or bond of union existing between themselves and the disaffected at other ports or cities. Hence each place can only be troubled by its own inhabitants; and if the officials are only half alive to their duties and take the necessary precautions there need be no further troubles. Fortunately at Shanghai we have not only the protection of our volunteers, and ships, but the native soldiery are under fairly good discipline, and are kept on the alert by their superiors, so that there is really no present cause

for apprehension. There are not enough disaffected people either here or in the vicinity to get up a riot. I mention this because I hear of missionary alarmists who have disbanded their schools and come to live in Shanghai for fear of troubles. Discretion is the better part of valour, undoubtedly, and I cannot blame them, although I do not think they are acting altogether wisely.

To sum up I would say, let missionaries and especially those near Shanghai go on with their work just as usual, unless actually requested to retire by their Consuls, or the Chinese authorities. A long residence in different parts of China and no inconsiderable intercourse with the natives lead me to the conviction that in the majority of cases such is the safest and wisest plan. As soon as people begin to breathe a little more freely I hope to take up the subject of what permanent means Chinese and foreigners ought to use to effectually cure the existing state of disaffection.

I am, etc.,

SPES.

Shanghai, 13th June.

AUTHOR OF "DEFENSIO POPULI'S" VIEWS
(CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS'
AT FAULT).

I.

"It is men that can make a religion great, and
not religion that can make men great."—
Discourses of Confucius: Bk. xv., chap. 28.

DEFENSIO POPULI AD POPULOS,

OR

THE MODERN MISSIONARIES CONSIDERED IN RELATION
TO THE RECENT RIOTS.

In view of the recent repeated popular outbreaks against the missionaries, I propose here to examine the activities and objects of the missionary enterprise in China and, after such an examination, to see if the time is not come, both in the interests alike of Chinese and foreigners, when the Foreign Governments should be asked to undertake, if not the entire withdrawal, at least some modification and control of the whole Mission scheme as it now exists in China.

The avowed objects of the missionary at the present day, which I will proceed to examine, may, I think, be summed up thus :—

I.—The moral elevation of the people.

II.—The intellectual enlightenment of the people.

III.—Works of charity.

I.—Now this was the real legitimate object for which the Chinese Government was originally asked to sanction the preaching of Christianity in China. As originally conceived, it is surely an object worthy of all support. Any scheme that could raise the people morally higher and make them better citizens and nobler men, would be a scheme worth the costs of all merely temporal interests. If therefore it can be shown that the modern missionaries by their present modes of preaching Christianity in China, are or have the remotest hope of carrying out this object, then, I say, let them be protected and, if need be, supported by gunboats and grape shot against the people. But can it be shown? If the mere embracing of the forms of Christianity which the modern missionaries are bringing into China, were really the means of making men morally higher, better and nobler, one would surely think that the best of the nation—and it is not denied that there are still good and noble men in China—would be the people most likely to be attracted by it. But is it so? I appeal to every foreigner who is at all acquainted with the minds of the best and most educated Chinese to say whether such can be converted, whether the very foundation of their national faith and culture can bear such a superstructure as the forms of Christianity which the missionaries bring into China. Is it not, I say, on the contrary an open secret that it is only the worst, the weak, the ignorant, the needy and the vicious among the Chinese, who have been or could be what the missionaries call converted? If any one should think that this is too strong a statement, I challenge him to show me that the missionary converts are as a class not to say morally higher but even as educated and as good and useful citizens as those of the Chinese who have not been converted; I ask him to show that these converts, men who have lost the faith of their fathers, who are bidden by their foreign teachers to have no sympathy with, if not to despise the traditions or memories of their own past history, who live isolated and as outcasts in the midst of their own race and people; that these men, when once

the mere hope of pecuniary benefits and other external influences are withdrawn, will not turn out to be worse than the worst of the Chinese are at present. If any one should still doubt the truth of what I say here, I would ask him to read the story of the Taiping rebellion, which ought properly to be called by the future historians of China—the rebellion of the Chinese outcasts of the Christian missionaries in China. Morally and intellectually the Taipings are a type of the Christian converts in China.

I appeal therefore to every foreigner in China who has any opportunity of judging, yea, I appeal to the missionary himself, to ask his conscience and say whether the carrying out of this part of the programme, namely, to make the Chinese by evangelising morally better and nobler, has not turned out to be a miserable failure. I ask him, the Protestant missionary, to search his heart and say whether it is not the sense of this miserable failure which has lately made him turn to what he calls the teaching of science and works of charity ; the two other objects of the Mission which we will now proceed to consider.

II.—Intellectual Enlightenment.

This surely is also a great and noble work. If the exchange of perishable commodities is necessary and valuable, how much more so is the interchange of imperishable ideas between nations. If then it can be shown that the missionary enterprise in China is an intellectual movement ; that the missionaries are bringing light where before there was only darkness ; that they, by connecting, so to speak, the higher currents of thought, are bringing the East and West closer together ; then, I say, let them have the support of all good men. But I ask again ; *can* it be shown ? No doubt the Protestant missionary has lately taken a great deal to what he calls science and scientific teaching. He can no doubt tell his native pupils that the mandarins are foolish to make a fuss about the eclipse of the moon ; but will he not in the very next hour have to tell the same pupils that the sun and moon *did* stand still at the bidding of the Hebrew General Joshua, and that the book in which this true fact is recorded, is a holy book written at the dictation of the all-wise Author of the Universe ? Now I appeal to every one who has the cause of intellectual enlightenment at heart, to say whether anything can be more anti-scientific than this—to call it by no harsher name—intellectual jugglery. The fact that the missionary is himself unconscious of it, only proves

the subtlety and magnitude of the mischief it can do. I say therefore whatever amount of mere scientific information the Protestant missionary is capable of bringing into China, they bring also with them a canker worm which must eventually put an end to all hope of intellectual enlightenment for the Chinese. For was it not against this same intellectual jugglery that all the great emancipators of the human spirit in Europe have fought and are fighting to this very day? Indeed to any one who knows anything at all of the struggle for intellectual enlightenment in Europe, how curious and absurd it must seem to see these men of religion, who in Europe have burnt and persecuted, here in China pose themselves as the champions for the cause of science and intellectual enlightenment. So far then is it from being true that the missionary enterprise in China is an intellectual movement, any one who will take the trouble to look into that mass of impenetrable darkness that goes under the name of missionary publication in China, can easily convince himself that it is this mass of darkness that really makes the educated Chinese intellectually despise the foreigner; and when the educated Chinese sees that this mass of darkness is being thrust upon the people with all the arrogant and aggressive pretentiousness of the missionaries on the one hand, and by the threat of gunboats on the part of the foreign Governments on the other hand, it makes him hate the foreigners with a hatred which only those can feel, who see that all which they hold as the highest and most sacred as belonging to them as a race and nation, their light, their culture and their literary refinement, are in danger of being irreparably defaced and destroyed. This, let me say here, is the root of the hatred of foreigners among the educated Chinese.

I say, therefore, if to the missionary's legitimate object of evangelising a certain indulgence is due from those who still believe that the spirit apart from the mere form of Christianity can at least do the Chinese no harm, certainly this pretence of theirs to preach science with anti-scientific jugglery deserves no such indulgence. If I have said that the work of evangelising in China is a failure, I must say that this loud talk on the part of the missionaries lately of science and scientific appliances to make China strong and powerful (with the eventual object, no doubt, of fighting against their own nation) is either a palpable imposture or a delusion.

III.—Works of Charity.

This, although surely a well deserving one, is, it must be admitted, a secular work, and as such must be judged by the balance of merely temporal interests. If the Christian Missions in China are to be but a mere scheme of charity, let it be proved that, as a charity, it is worth its cost. No doubt the Protestant hospital and Catholic orphanage are the means of doing good to a number of individual Chinese. But can it be shown that even this amount of good is an adequate compensation for the outlay in money alone, apart from other considerations, which the people through their Government, have had to pay for the special protection and indemnification of the missionaries in China? I should think the interest of all the money which has been thus spent alone would pay for an infinitely larger and more efficient staff of mere secular doctors and nurses (European if you will) to do the good which these mission institutions are now supposed to do. If then the Christian missions are to be regarded as a charity for alleviating Chinese suffering, let me ask again, whether the work actually done is worth the enormous sums of money which the missionaries are so loud in proclaiming that they, forsooth, are spending every year for the benefit of the Chinese? Let it be shown, I say, how much of the millions which the people in Europe and America subscribe for the support of the missions, goes actually to the alleviating of Chinese suffering, and how much of it goes to the maintenance of the missionaries and their wives, to the building of their fine houses and sanitariums, to the cost of postage and paper for their voluminous letter writing, and to the holding of their conferences and other fads. Considered therefore as a mere scheme of charity, I ask is it not an open secret known to every disinterested foreigner in China, that the whole missionary enterprise in China is but a huge scheme of charity for the benefit of unemployed professional persons from Europe and America?

In presence of this subject of charity one really feels loth to have to speak like this; but I think the truth should once and for all be spoken. Moreover I would ask the most generous to say, when these men who are paid to bring peace and good will to this nation, now heap insults and cry vengeance upon the Government which, with all its difficulties, is still honestly trying to protect them; when these men, who profess to preach mercy and loving kindness to this people, now threaten them with shells and grape

shot for what, even in these late riots, the most hardened legal prosecutor in a court of justice could prove to be nothing worse than excusable ignorance ; I call, in fact, upon the most generous to say whether these men can ask that tenderness should be shown, when one is but speaking the truth to them.

But my object here is not to have the mere wanton satisfaction of speaking home truths to the missionaries. I have now shown you that their work of evangelising is a failure. I have proved that their pretence to teach science and carry intellectual enlightenment is either an imposture or a delusion. I have further shown that, regarded as a mere scheme of charity, the whole missionary enterprise in China, taken at its best, is but a huge scheme of charity for unemployed professional persons and, as such, not worth its cost even in the money spent on its support. And my object in showing this is to ask every intelligent and disinterested foreigner to say, if he finds what I have shown (make what exception and modifications he will) to be substantially correct, I ask him to say whether this huge and worthless scheme of charity should be allowed to imperil—as at this moment it threatens more than ever to do—not only the lives and properties of four hundred million Chinese, but also the large commercial, industrial and other interests which the people of every nation in Europe and America have now at stake in this country. For it is, I think, not difficult to show that the presence of the missionaries in China is a danger and injury to the interests alike of Chinese and foreigners.

I will now prove that the present support of the missionary enterprise in China by the Foreign Governments is both an insult to the Chinese nation and an injury to their interests. I say it is an insult to the nation because, when the high Chinese officials, who now employ a large staff of technical and educated foreigners in their service, see that even these men do not believe in what the missionaries say, what must they think to see the Foreign Governments still back up these missionaries as religious teachers sent to raise the morality of the people ? I say further it is an insult because, while the Consuls are seen ordering up gunboats for the support of the Mission cause, the very coolies in their consulates know that the missionaries, as a body, are not looked up to by the better class of foreigners as their moral teachers.

But it is not only as insults that the Chinese people complain against the presence of the missionaries in China. I have already alluded to the vast outlay of money which the people through their Government have had to pay for the special protection and indemnification of the missionaries and their property. Moreover in all cases of these riots, the foreign public can only judge from what the missionary, an interested party, has to say on his side of the question, and the people are not heard. Now on behalf of the people I think it is but fair to submit the following considerations to every candid and fair-minded foreigner.

It is, I think, admitted that the only two effective checks upon wrong-doing of every kind are the law and public opinion. But the missionaries here in China, who are allowed to gad about the country with a *comitatus* of what I have called the outcasts of Chinese society, their converts, have no law immediately before their eyes, because the Consuls are far away and the Chinese have no jurisdiction over them. They have no fear of public opinion, because they are in touch, with a few exceptions, only with the Chinese outcasts, their converts. I submit, therefore, before the people are condemned even in these riots that it should be shown that the missionaries, without the two restraints, which I have said are necessary for ordinary men, are capable of doing no wrong; that they, with their natural partiality for their Chinese outcasts, their converts, and their high notions of their own saintliness, are incapable of insolence and aggressiveness, of high handed meddlesomeness and petty tyrannies to the Chinese among whom they live. If any one should doubt whether the missionaries as a body are capable of these things, let him read and note the tone and spirit of the public utterances of these men in the newspapers, not only on questions where Chinese are concerned, but on social questions concerning foreigners only, whenever the particular facts and other selfish interests of the missionary bodies happen to be concerned. I say, therefore, before the Chinese people are morally condemned in the Court of foreign public opinion, let it be shown that these riots are not the explosions of popular indignation at the accumulated amount of petty insults and injuries, to which the stories about the babies and their eyes are but as matches to set the already heated mass ablaze. (See Foochow Wu-shi-shan riot case, 1879.)

This, then, I say, is the real burning grievance of the masses of the Chinese people against the presence of the missionaries in China; the fact that this class of what I have called the unemployed professional persons from Europe and America with a *comitatus* of the Chinese outcasts, their converts, should be let loose upon the country with no other restraint to keep them from insulting and injuring except their mere profession of godliness. This, let me here emphasise, is the root of the hatred of foreigners among the masses of the Chinese people, whereas that which I have shown under II. is the root among the educated classes. The missionaries are thus responsible for these, the only two deep causes of the hatred of foreigners among the Chinese.

But all the miseries which the Christian missions have brought upon China may be summed up in that one ugly diabolic fact: the Taiping rebellion, which I have already called the Rebellion of the Chinese Outcasts of the Christian Missions in China. It was this rebellion which changed the face of what we once fondly and proudly called our Flowery Land as from the face of a smiling maiden into that of an old haggard woman.

I will only here spend a few words to show that the presence of the missionary in China is also a danger and an injury to foreign interests. I need here only ask every intelligent foreigner to consider what an old experienced foreign Consul once said to me: *that what permanently injures the Chinese must in the end also injure the foreigners.* Therefore if there is any truth in what I have shown, that the missionaries, instead of doing good, do real harm to the Chinese, it follows necessarily that the presence of the missionaries is also an injury to foreigners. But I have said that the missionaries are also really responsible for the Chinese hatred of foreigners. Now surely the hatred of the Chinese cannot possibly do the foreigners any good. At this critical state of China, I maintain that this hatred is threatening to do a great deal of harm to the large commercial and other interests which foreigners have now in China. All silly and sentimental hatreds ought, of course, to be put down. But the hatred that is just in the core of it, I am convinced, no amount of shells and grape shot can put down. Those who will try to do it will only demoralise and in the end injure themselves. The missionaries are now clamorous for gunboats, and would lead the foreign public to believe that the officials are merely selfish in asking foreigners not to make a display

of gunboats in these missionary riots. But those who know the temper of the people ought, I think, to tell the foreign public that the first shot from a foreign gunboat fired in a missionary cause will be the signal of a war not against the Government—as our foreign wars have hitherto been—but a war against the Chinese people. The missionaries have been loud in their denunciation of the “opium war;” but what will they say to a “missionary war,” of which we are now on the eve unless there is enough of common sense, if not the sense of justice among disinterested foreigners, to prevent it. I appeal therefore to this common sense, this sense of justice among foreigners, to say whether the time is not come when the Foreign Governments should be asked in the interests alike of Chinese and Foreigners to undertake, if not the entire withdrawal, at least some modification of the missionary enterprise in China which I have shown at present to be a mere worthless scheme of charity for unemployed professional persons from Europe and America.

I have now spoken what I have long years meditated and hesitated, from personal and other deeper considerations, to speak. But now I have spoken. *So hilf mir Gott : ich kan nicht anders.*

A CHINESE.

20th July, 1891.

P.S.—What I have written above applies equally to Protestant and to Catholic missions in China. But I should be wanting in justice and to the cause of truth if I do not append this *morceau* from the *Journal d'un interprète en Chine* by Mons. le Comte d'Hérisson. The ardently patriotic Count, I may say here, was the interpreter and confidential secretary of the French General who led the French forces together with the English in their march upon Peking. The Count says :—

“Je manquerais à la fois à la justice et à la vérité si je ne rappelais pas ici quel puissant concours nous trouvâmes en Chine dans le personnel des missions catholiques. Tous les renseignements qui parvenaient au général—et l'événement démontra leur précision—tant sur les ressources des provinces que nous allions avoir à traverser, que sur les effectifs des troupes que nous allions rencontrer devant nous, lui étaient procurés par l'intermédiaire des jésuites, qui les faisaient relever par des Chinois à leur dévotion. Les rapports confidentiels exigeaient, non seulement une profonde connaissance des hommes et des choses, mais encore ils indiquaient

chez leurs auteurs un véritable courage car ils pouvaient les exposer à des représailles terribles de la part des Chinois quand nous aurions quitté le pays. Les jésuites ont, à cette époque, fait preuve d'un patriotisme ardent et du plus admirable dévouement."

Now I appeal to every foreigner, be he Frenchman, English or German, to say whether against a body of men who are capable of this *patriotisme ardent* the Chinese people are not morally right in hurling, as they are now doing with what power they have, their "*Ecrasez l'infâme ?*"

II.

SIR,—I am much mistaken if "the fine Roman hand" of the letter over the signature "A Chinese" in a recent issue does not indicate a foreign origin for that letter. There is no misapprehending the exegesis which identifies the beating of gongs—as a preventative of eclipses of the sun and moon—and the standing still of the sun on the dial of Ahaz as equally inconsistent with cosmic realities; and there is a specially racy flavour about the idea, which would never occur to a "Chinese," that the *literati* can see through the implied fog his lucid way through the fallacies of Christianity. There may be some truth in the assertion that to the native observer the absence of Christian faith in foreign officials is an argument against the truth of the foreign religion. We have no means of judging of the faith of individuals in the Chinese service: no doubt, there is a good deal of "laicisation" in ruling circles, and it is also certain that the "returns" of the missions of the various sects do not impress us, either in numbers or importance, as considerable in proportion to the pecuniary outlay. As to the imputed dishonesty and immorality of the converts of these sects I can have of course no knowledge. But you will perhaps allow me as a Catholic to question the veracity of the imputation so far as it relates—if at all, which is not clear,—to Catholics; and afford me a limited space that I may shortly refer to some of the results of our Missions, the more especially as under existing literary and theological conditions, these results seem to drop out of their proper places in popular records. The zeal, charity, patience, humility, mortification and invincible courage of the men and women who without the resources of subsidised millions and regardless of the attractions of comfortable homesteads and appurtenances, planted

the standard of the cross so as to make it at least visible and distinct in form to all the people, and which converted so large a number, including some of the most distinguished Chinese, to the Universal Church deserve surely some notice.

The imputation that only the vulgar and ignorant are found to attach themselves to the new teaching is only as true as the like assertions as to early Christianity. As members of the House of Nero,—addressed by St. Paul,—Glabrio who had been Trajan's colleague in the magistracy, the senator Appolonius, and many other in the first century; in the second such learned Christians as Quadratus, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Melito, Athenagoras, Pantaeneus; in the third, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Heraclius, Dionysius, Minutius Felix, &c., were adherents of the faith—many even to the death—so in the history of Chinese Christianity we find innumerable instances of adhesion of the best and highest of the people.

Upon the death of the Emperor Chun Chi, who had tolerated Christianity, it is recorded “the four Regents” put to death amongst others five Christian mandarins for their adherence to the faith, and that, on the young Emperor, Kang Hi, coming of age, and putting a stop to the persecution, and allowing the Jesuit Verbiest to open a school and Christian churches in the year 1671, in the same year about 20,000 persons were baptised, and in the year following an uncle of the emperor was converted together with a general of the Tartar troops, and several other persons of distinction. Certain of the succeeding emperors were no less favourable to the Christians, who were permitted to build a sumptuous church within the enclosure of the palace. This was not done without the concurrence of the most distinguished men in rank and intelligence of the whole people. This was the church built in 1702, and recently replaced by one of at least equal magnificence. The Dominicans moreover converted to the faith a great part of the Province of Fukien, where the converts erected 200 churches, before the persecution commenced in which, among others, five priests were amongst the first victims cruelly martyred. Although the Emperor Kang Hi protected Christians, his successor, Yung Ching, banished the missionaries out of the chief cities, keeping only those “religious” in his palace who were employed by him in painting, mathematics and other liberal arts, and who continued mandarins of the court. Kien Lung, the next emperor,

carried the persecution to the greatest rigours of cruelty in Fukien. A great number of Christians of all ages and sexes were banished, beaten, and tortured in divers ways, the details of which are too horrible to mention—"all which torments," says a historian, "even the young converts bore with incredible constancy rather than discover where a priest lay hidden, or a sacred book was to be laid hands on, or do any thing contrary to the law of God."

These are but a few instances of the sincerity and devotion of Christian converts; but the remembrance of them only stimulates the rancour of the Voltairian "Chinese" who quotes as against the Catholic missions the celebrated phrase applied in France to Christianity and its Founder, *Ecrasez l'infame!*

I am, etc.,

A CATHOLIC.

Shanghai, 22nd July.

III.

SIR,—“A Chinese” has brought a severe arraignment against the modern missionaries in China. He adopts as the motto of his paper the saying of “The Master” 人能弘道非道弘人. In the first place, he mistranslates 道. It never means “Religion,” though its definition is wide: the best commentators render it by “Path of duty.” Surely, too, he must remember that “The Master did not talk about extraordinary things, strength, disorders and spiritual beings,” and he did not know about death.

Moreover, a motto when adopted as the heading of an essay, ought to express generally accepted truths, but whether we render 道 by “Path of duty” or by “Religion,” and whether by religion we mean Christianity or Paganism, one need not think long to learn that it is only one of the two propositions of the saying which is true to all and not its converse.

Then again, there is no idea common to the motto and the subject matter. On the contrary, from his translating 道 by “Religion” they are inconsistent; for if “Man enlarges the religion,” then surely religion is an important factor in human institutions, whereas he would have to ignore all religions except as a moral system.

The motto being thus wrongly translated, blindly accepted, and misapplied, I am not surprised that there should be exaggerations, misstatements and *non-sequiturs*. Stump declamation and verbiage

apart, his indictments may be distributed under four heads: that Christianity is an insult to China whose "light, culture, and literary refinement" are beyond approach, that foreign missionaries are dishonest, dishonourable, and self-seeking, that their method of evangelisation is despicable, and that they are responsible for the hatred towards foreigners, among educated men and the masses. Leaving the first to works on comparative religion, and the second to the foreign missionaries—merely saying that every Chinaman who knows anything of them, must acknowledge that there are among them men of intellect, education, social position, wealth and self-denial—I venture some remarks on the method of evangelisation and the accusation that missionaries are responsible for hatred towards foreigners generally.

I.—The method.

(1)—"A Chinese" charges the Church with being able to receive only the poor and the ignorant. This is true only in part, for as in the Apostolic days in Thessalonica and Berea, so now in China; while some converts are poor and ignorant, many are of the middle class, and honourable men and women are not a few. In Shanghai, which by the way cannot be taken as a fair representative city as regards education, there are four *siutsais* out of a Protestant membership of five hundred. Down through the centuries, the early Church was not among the rich and the learned, whether in India, Asia-Minor and the rest of the Roman Empire, and if the Church were withdrawn on that account Europe would not be Christian as now. This is exactly what may be expected here as elsewhere, for the rich, the learned and the famed have everything to lose in any change of religion, government or society. It is only when the masses have changed, that the higher classes are carried along. Water flows downwards, but reforms flow upwards. At present, the higher classes do indeed condemn and reject Christianity, but they do it out of court, which proves that their spirit is illiberal, more than that Christianity is unbelievable. As a proof, in China no attack on Christianity has ever been made on philosophical and doctrinal grounds, as in the West. The "Death-blow to Christianity" and obscene placards have been the style of literature from the cultured and refined *literati*. If they had examined it with a calm and impartial spirit, even if they do not accept it, they would have found much in it which is ennobling

and purifying. One of the missionaries in Canton gave a prize for essays on certain Christian texts which required research into the Bible and the evidences, and the scholar who received it gave a very favourable opinion of Christianity, and he was a Confucianist.

Moreover, my countrymen are very conservative. Reforms even in Government, education, and material blessings are slow. As an illustration, I take education. About twenty years ago, when our Government called for lads to the Government colleges and afterwards again to join the Educational Mission, it was mostly the poor families that gave their sons, and that too for a compensation; and it is only lately that the next higher classes have seen the value of Western education. Christianity aims to bring about a new order as regards spiritual matters, and must necessarily be slower in progress. For myself, I do not expect any sudden evangelisation, but it is not to be abandoned on that account. The present is the time of turning up the sod; the sowing and the harvesting will surely come in time as they have in the West. The poor and the ignorant and the middle class will for the present form the majority of converts; but as with Western education, the upper classes will, in time, be carried along. I repeat, however, the Church of to-day does not embrace only the poor and the ignorant: the middle class forms the majority, and scholars not a few. That there are no more *siutsai* among the adult converts has been accounted for; that there are not more among the children of converts is, because as no Christian can consistently advance to higher degrees, they have given up all ambition in the literary career altogether.

Has "A Chinese" heard of self-supporting churches and day schools? Has he come across Christian tracts published by the various Societies? A great number of them are written by these illiterate converts or with their assistance. Has he seen the religious periodicals published in Foochow and Shanghai? They contain articles by Christians. Do these literary productions show that the writers are ignorant? If he has not done all these, then he has done a gross injustice to this class, who are as much his countrymen as the self-styled educated set he moves in. Has he read an answer written by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin to a similar accusation and published in the *Missionary Recorder* of 1889?

If he makes his charges without having done so, he has put himself in the same category with the authors of the placards, and he deserves rebuke more than notice from an impartial public.

"A Chinese" may be thankful that the Church has reached the poor and the ignorant, for many of the most prominent and progressive men of to-day were once boys in Morrison's School and St. Paul's College, the American P. E. Schools and others. Most of the young men, too, in the Telegraph service, Customs service, the Nanking Military college received their education in Church institutions, some of whom are the sons and grandsons of the men above mentioned. I strongly believe that the early education of "A Chinese" himself was likewise so derived. But for the Church, liberal education would never have received the impetus in China which it has; but for the Church, even those who have been educated at their *own* cost, would never have the ambition, courage and means as the case may be, to take a yet further advanced course. If she has so far reached mostly the lower classes, she has, through these exerted a wonderful influence intellectually over the higher, and it will likewise be the case as regards religion.

If it be said that these men, now prominent in liberal China, were benefited by the Church intellectually, but not at all religiously, has she not done a great thing even if this were all? But surely, no one could take a course of even elementary liberal studies without acquiring new ideas respecting idolatry. As to these poor and ignorant Christians who have not become better or more useful than their non-Christian countrymen, they have at least become better and more useful than they otherwise would have been.

(2)—"A Chinese" mentions the vicious and the outcasts as being among the "so-called converted." Now, the Church did not in the first place receive them, nor afterwards retain them *as such*, but as willing to lead better lives. A patriot ought to rejoice that something is being done for the vicious and the outcasts, as well as for the poor and ignorant, by the Samaritans of the Church who have been neglected by the Chief Priest and Levite of the *literati*. If there be any, however, who call themselves Christians and remain reprobates, who is responsible? This is, in truth, a serious charge, and it is just to the public, Christian or non-Christian, that their names and crimes be made known. I consider this indefinite indictment criminal and unworthy of one who plumes himself on "light, culture, and literary refinement."

The history of the Taiping rebellion, called by "A Chinese" *History of the Rebellion of Christian outcasts*, is lugged in, but there is a great misunderstanding; Hung Siu-tsuen (洪秀全) was a literary man and not an outcast, and it was in attending an examination in Canton that he received a Christian tract. The rebellion began in Kuangsi, and it was the result of the extortions of the yamên runners. He was a dreamer of dreams and wherever he met the character 全 in the Bible, he applied it to himself. "全地" was "my land," "全權" was "my power," etc., and he favoured the Bible, because he believed that the Bible anticipated and approved of his conduct. The whole story is graphically told by the Rev. Mr. Hanbury of Hongkong, who knew Hung Siu-tsuen personally. From the beginning, they were called by the Government "Haired rebels," and not "Religious rebels," and this is the first time that the Church has been held responsible. The immediate cause of this rebellion, as the older generation knows, was the extortion of the land rent gatherers, and the auxiliary one, the great body of Kuangsi men thrown out of carrying work by the opening of Shanghai, which diverted silk and tea from Canton.

I had written thus far when I received a letter from a prominent English missionary stating that "A Chinese" is erratic in his views and opinions generally. I conclude that to write further would be a waste of time. I wanted under the head of method, thirdly, to ask why he has not used his talent, energy and eloquence to establish some *secular* hospitals and orphanages?

Under II, Hatred towards foreigners, I wanted to say, Credibility of Miracles aside, firstly, that it is absurd to think that books containing narratives of miracles are obnoxious to the educated class. To say nothing else, has he not read of the Viceroy's and the Governors' memorials petitioning for tablets to the Dragon God, Kuanti and Kuanyin; and does he not remember that when the French were sinking the Chinese vessels, Viceroy Ho was beating the fishdrum and chanting his prayers. To say that this is the root of the hatred towards foreigners is to talk like one who has no knowledge whatever of the Chinese mind. Hatred there is, but the cause is not here; nor are the missionaries alone responsible for hatred toward foreigners generally. If the truth must be told, merchants have involved the missionaries more than

vice versa. I cannot help thinking that "A Chinese" writing this is not because he loves the merchants the more, but Christianity the less. I wanted, secondly, to say that his charges of "insolence and aggressiveness, of high-handed meddlesomeness and petty tyrannies," as being the cause of hatred among the masses, are unsupported by evidence. I call upon him to give instances and details. I am sure the Foreign Missionary body themselves would be thankful. But under the circumstances I decide to say no more.

I am, etc.,

Y. K. YEN.

Shanghai, 27th July.

IV.

SIR,—Soon after the riot in Wuhu, I asked our Mission's Chinese deacon there for details, and his answer, which was mostly extracts from his journal, was in substance as follows:—

From beginning to end in the order of time the riot was owing, (1) to the arrival of kidnappers—several boys being lost; (2) to the two Roman Catholic Sisters laying their hand on the diseased head of a boy, the boy getting frightened and hallooing, and the mother and the neighbours believing that they were some of the kidnappers; (3) to the lack of judgment on the part of the mandarins; (4) to the Roman Catholics not having a competent Chinaman to explain matters; (5) to the chance presence of three Ko-lao Hui men who took advantage of the excitement to spur the people on, leading them into the mission gate: then it was that burning, destroying and looting began. As to the Ko-lao Hui people, their idea was to stir up a quarrel between China and foreign countries that they might have an opportunity to enter the soldiery and make a living.

Later on, I received also a letter from the interpreter of the Foreign Office in Nanking. He said, "As to their (Ko-lao Hui people's) object, opinions differ; it is generally believed that they want the Government to engage in a foreign war, that they may commit depredations upon the people. Mobbing the foreigners they thought the quickest and most efficient means to make the Foreign Powers make trouble for China, thereby carrying out their design, not knowing that the Foreign Governments would take upon themselves the protection of their people."

Yesterday, a Chinese friend wrote me from Foochow: "I have learned from good authority that this recent general outbreak grew out of the discharge of soldiers in the various provinces by order of the Peking Government, on account of the deficit in the Imperial Treasury. It is true, as you have stated, that 'the soldiers struck out of the lists were getting up rows in order to get into the soldiery.' They were smart enough to think that by getting China into collision with foreign nations, their services might again be required. I should say, therefore, that their present movements were not exactly anti-Christian. They had not for their object the extirpation of Christianity but simply used Christianity as a tool for effecting their infernal purposes. I was once talking with a person who was either a member of the Ko-lao Hui or its sympathiser, and his statements regarding this subject went very much to confirm the above."

I lay these facts before the public, believing that they give a clue to the right theory, viz., soldiers *suddenly* and in *great numbers* discharged and having nothing to live on. We may expect trouble yet, either without or within, until the authorities go to the root of the matter, *i.e.*, give half-pay, reducing it gradually.

I am, etc.,

Y. K. YEN.

Shanghai, 1st September.

V.

SIR,—In the issue of the *North-China Daily News* for 21st July "A Chinese," evidently a man of European culture, has given to the world an impeachment of the Mission crusade in China. We should have preferred to believe that we were dealing with honest opinions, but are bound to recognise that your correspondent has written as an advocate pleading before a jury. It may be cruel to apply to his advocacy the cold investigation of a Judge in Chambers, yet, if it be worth doing at all—which under the circumstances is rather doubtful—that investigation alone will avail. The motto "It is men that make a religion great, and not religion that can make men great," leaving aside the question how far this is a correct translation of the words of Confucius, is of course essentially anti-Christian, and reveals at once the hopeless difference of standpoint of the talented writer and a Christian apologist. It is

but fair to point out that this motto with its cunningly laid development to catch the sympathies of agnostic foreigners bids us, adopting our Latinity to nineteenth-century needs, read as title instead of "Defensio Populi ad Populos" "Apologia Agnostici ad Agnosticos." No one can complain that an educated Chinese who disbelieves in Christianity as divine should object to see missionaries in China ; on that ground he and a Christian can never agree, but can respect each other's devotion to creed and ethic. Recognising this initial difference, it may be unwise to answer ; but certain statements adduced expressly challenge reply, and on the question of fact, let agnostic Gallio, to whom appeal has been made, remain on the judgment seat and hear.

The impeachment astutely includes Protestant and Romanist at once and thus increases the difficulty of counsel for the defence. With all feelings of respect for Roman Catholicism, we must plead ignorance as the excuse for limiting what we have to say to that which we know and have seen, Protestant Christianity at work in China.

In the first count the advocate is very bold. Not content with asserting that Christianity as preached has not made men in China better, the gage is thrown out, "I appeal to every foreigner who is acquainted with the minds of the best and most educated Chinese to say whether such *can* be converted." It is of course useless here for us to beg the question by the experimental fact which is the Christian's truest encouragement in the midst of discouragement, that Christianity has proved its divine origin by changing, "converting," already his own and myriads of other lives. But it is equally useless for our opponent to beg the question by the contrary assumption of what can *not* be. We will simply appeal to history. Though Tacitus or Pliny might have asked a similar question in the days of the Roman Empire, and though a scornful world would have overwhelmed the bare suggestion in inextinguishable jeering laughter, yet the creed of Christ did conquer Rome, educated classes and all, and has moulded the Western world that came after Rome. The challenge continues. "Is it not an open secret that it is only the worst, the weak, the ignorant, the needy, and the vicious among the Chinese who have been or could be what the missionaries call converted ?" So said the early pagan observers of that strange Nazarene superstition—*ab extra*—even the good and wise among them, in their ignorance.

But the catacombs have revealed their secrets and answered the question after a millennium with their rudely sculptured stories of undying hope and purity amidst slaves and outcasts. And so it will be in China; the *could* be needs no answer, for it begs the question; the analogy of history suggests the contrary. It has been the glory of Christianity, from the days of its Founder downwards, that it does receive and raise "the weak, the ignorant, the needy," ay! and even "the vicious" whom Confucianism, the system of the cultured oligarchy, leaves uninstructed and unhelped. The Christian Church in China is by no means so exclusively bound within these limits as is generally supposed, but waiving that point, that the vicious remain vicious, the testimony in disproof of many hundreds of experts may be advanced against our *dilettante* advocate. Of course neither he nor the agnostic outside world will believe us. But then we unhesitatingly affirm neither he nor the agnostic world has ever taken the trouble to find out; it is to him *à priori* impossible that Christianity can transform the sinner, *therefore* it does not transform. Many of us, Chinese and foreign, *know*. None denies the presence of unworthy and insincere members, as in Christian lands, but the proportion is at least as low as in England. Thousands of consistent lives and hundreds of triumphant deaths are facts too strong even for the *ipse dixit* of an educated Chinaman.

In the second count our advocate grows rather confused and inconsistent. After asserting that the evangelistic aim of the missionary has "turned out a miserable failure," he represents "the educated Chinese seeing all which they hold as the highest and most sacred as belonging to them as a race, their light, their culture, their literary refinement in danger of being irreparably defaced and destroyed." The two statements appear somewhat inconsistent, but the advocate knows that the jury is apt to forget by lapse of time and tongue. The gist of the second count of the indictment is apparently that science and Christianity are incompatible, and that the missionaries' talk of teaching science is "either a palpable imposture or a delusion." To which the answer is—if Christianity be false, yes!—but once more this is to beg the question. Does the advocate know that the Royal Society of England is the first scientific society of the world, and that its President, Sir G. Stokes, believes and reverences the Bible and its teaching? The many eminent men of science who still find no

incompatibility are sufficient guarantee that the question cannot be settled off-hand by a reference to Joshua and the Vale of Ajalon. It is not fair to expect a Confucianist, even though such a master of the English tongue, to be familiar with the Revised Version of the Scriptures ; were he so, he would not have been so eager to rest his case on the single passage which he quotes. But the point is that if miracles do not prevent men like Stokes and Clark Maxwell and a host of others from reverent faith in the Bible as inspired by God, not even the scepticism, supposed or real, of the "technical staffs of the Viceroy's" and of "the better class of foreign residents" can justify the closing of the case with a verdict against the sanity or honesty of the Christian scientist.

"The mass of impenetrable darkness that goes under the name of missionary publication"—is another specimen of county-court rhetoric. It is true that books written by missionaries in good style for scholars are few ; several of them are much appreciated by many a good graduate who has never entered the Christian Church—perhaps such an one appreciates "impenetrable darkness !" The mass of missionary publications are in the language understood of the common people. There is much room for improvement, but the great bulk are admirably clear and thoroughly idiomatic. The scholar of course despises ; so did the Latin scholars in the early days of Italian poetry, so did the scholars in the days of Wiclif ; but while we should be very sorry to see Chinese *Wen-li* neglected, it is a function of Christianity to give new dignity to the spoken language as a literary medium. It is highly probable that the Chinese advocate himself, who has obviously spent many years in acquiring Western education, has therefore been obliged to neglect the minute technical study of his native tongue, and probably, if the truth were known, his countrymen despise him as uneducated, or even hate him as a Westerniser. He has to share with the missionary the hatred of ignorance. Science is truth ; if the Chinese hates the missionary for teaching science it is not because of any perception of inconsistency between revelation and science, but because he knows that by the introduction of other wares the price of his own monopoly will be lowered ; because he sees new ladders being raised to the fortress of office, whither he alone hitherto has had access. He "saith the old is better," therefore he hateth the new.

In the third count the advocate lowers his tone. Tricks of rhetoric may be excused, but playing to the gallery demeans. The perpetual harping on the string "a huge charity scheme for the relief of unemployed professional persons from England and America" is vulgar, and both the advocate and the public know it is untrue. A police superintendent at an outport receives far more than the oldest and best missionary in China. Most clerks in banks out here start as boys with incomes larger than those of most ordinary married missionaries, who as a class at home can scarcely be said to be likely to make less out than bank clerks. None can urge that money can be the temptation to bring missionaries to China. We say nothing of the large number of men and women who gladly support themselves—and say no more, for vulgarity always foils itself.

"Charity is *not* a secular work;" it is the direct outcome of Christianity. Compare the charities of Christian England with the very best that Confucian or Buddhist China has produced, and ask where is the spring of the difference. Our Chinese friend cannot be serious in pitting the indemnities paid for ruffianism and plunder against the advantages to the great mass of law-abiding people in missionary hospitals. Surely the knowledge of the languages of Europe cannot have been attained without a keen longing for the presence of a Western doctor next time he is in danger of his life and at the mercy of a native practitioner. But it is impossible seriously to argue the point.

It is insinuated that the missionaries are guilty of an "accumulated amount of petty insults and injuries" to the Chinese among whom they live. Our Chinese friend has probably never walked with a missionary through a native street and heard his wife befouled with vile epithets, and with himself stoned and cursed. Were he to take the trouble to verify his facts he would not insinuate the exact opposite of the truth.

And now we must disburden our soul of a great indignation at the inflammatory conclusion of the advocate's defence. How does an honest man dare to introduce reckless assertion of the missionaries "heaping insults and crying vengeance on the Government? How does he dare to suggest a "missionary war?" Has there been anything but a calm strong demand for justice; has not the very mention of vengeance been deprecated? Has he never heard of the wide promulgation of publications more

blasphemous, foul, and inflammatory than dare appear in any Christian land, and this after the high authorities of China have been notified of the fact? Has justice been done? The one really serious case is that at Wusueh where alone life was taken and violence done to persons. Is the Chinese who writes desirous to save his Government from the burden of doing the minimum of justice by this wild and malicious attempt to throw the blame on the injured? Does he write with the idea that his defence will be translated into the native newspapers and be a new incentive to the rascaldom which the mandarins find it so difficult to control? Has he no sense of patriotism, no knowledge that a nation that doeth righteousness shall be exalted, no idea that he who tries to make the way of doing right difficult hurts his country? *Proh pudor! Proh mores!* All Protestant congregations in China that use a liturgy, and indeed most of those who do not, pray for the Emperor and the mandarins every Sunday. Well if "A Chinese" has influenced the common people to similar loyalty.

It is a great pity that the latter half of the advocate's plea so mars the effect of the whole. One can respect a Confucianist who from the high ground of religious difference opposes Christianity, but his words should be honest, his facts correct, he should be above abuse and innuendo. And finally when he wishes his peroration to express the lofty patriotism which may really have animated him, notwithstanding the faults to which we have objected, is it not a flash of revelation to him that he finds no more fitting vehicle than the words of Luther which were the first freedom-cry of the religion he is seeking to decry? Can that Protestantism be so utterly devoid of power over life and heart which was born amidst such bitter travail, storm, and stress, and which has changed the life of a continent?

Christ came to bring a sword on earth. No nation can be born to a higher life without some battle with the power of evil. It is a battle with evil, not with England, the sword against its own sins, not against its neighbours. But woe to the nation which prefers and woe to the man who leads the nation to prefer the lower life to that biting, healing sword.

I am, &c.,

W. T. A. BARBER.

Wuchang, 26th July.

VI.

SIR,—The article entitled “*Defensio populi ad populus*” is a noteworthy one, and merits the careful consideration of all who wish to understand the causes of the present anti-foreign troubles in China. It shows most unmistakably the spirit in which the missionary foreigner, and, indeed, broadly speaking, all foreigners, are, regarded by the class which its writer represents,—the official and literary class. That is a spirit of intense hatred, not a hatred which as you remark is “founded on reasoning,” although it might be truthfully enough said that the reasoning is founded on the hatred.

There are some, no doubt, who have regarded the publication of that article as a matter of regret. I am not one of these. I think it might be fairly said of it, as was said twenty-one years ago by the English translators of that infamous book *Death-blow to Corrupt Doctrines* in their preface to it:—“In the present juncture of affairs in China we regard it as of too much importance to be withheld from the foreign public, believing as we do that it is a remarkably truthful representation of the *animus* of the ruling and literary classes of China towards foreigners.” That they do cherish such an *animus* is a matter which may surprise some folks, but not the missionary. We have been made painfully aware if or by far too many bitter experiences. That they occasionally give reasons in print for their antipathy we also know, and most of us possess a few anti-missionary manifestoes, which we have picked up from time to time, similar to that of “A Chinese,” only they are in the native language. I have been turning over a collection of some thirty of these, all of them different, and most of them new. They are the engines by which the late anti-missionary riots have been run. A full account of them I trust will be given later on by an abler pen than mine. There are a great many points of similarity between them and the effort of “A Chinese,” and also some of contrast. It is to these I wish to allude. As to similarity: like his they are the work of the educated “enlightened” Chinese. Some bear the names of high officials, some those of individual scholars, some purport to be sent out by the gentry and scholars, others by trade guilds, while many are anonymous. All alike, however, are the work of the *literati*. The spirit in which they are written is exactly the same as that manifested by “A Chinese;” and their object is also exactly the same, namely, to cast odium on

or stir up a feeling against the missionary. They agree with him in extolling "the national faith and culture," and the high character of the natives who have not been contaminated by foreign teachings. They are also agreed as to the utterly worthless and degraded character of mission converts. They are only "the worst, the weak, the ignorant, the need and the vicious among the Chinese," says "A Chinese," while in the Chinese before me they are more pithily called "a gang of 'forget eights,' whore-mongers, 'baresticks,' fools, doggish and swinish men."

Among the points of contrast are the totally different kinds of arguments used for the totally different classes of readers. Were the arguments of "A Chinese" turned into the native language their effect upon his countrymen would be absolutely *nil*. On the other hand, if the arguments addressed to the native were turned into plain English, in all their original grossness, could a translator be found to dare the task, a printer to print, or a public to read them, they would cause a thrill of horror, and produce such a feeling of detestation for the "enlightened Chinese" as would last most "disinterested foreigners" a lifetime. But the writers have been quite competent to take the measure of their audiences. They show remarkable skill in putting forward just exactly the kind of reasoning which will go down best, and prove most effective with each. In these documents the natives are told that the missionaries are the agents of foreign powers, and supplied by them with inexhaustible funds for the purpose of creating confusion in the Middle Kingdom, in order that these foreign powers may be able to get possession of it. They bewitch people by charms, and then abuse them in unspeakable ways. They do the same by means of medicines. They practise nameless mutilations, on both the living and the dead—digging out eyes, and scooping out brains is a mere trifle. Their doctrines are filthy beyond the power of the native imagination to conceive (although it is pretty strong in this direction), or the native language to describe (well supplied though it be with a terminology of beastliness). As to the morals of missionaries they are worse than their doctrines. These things, and such like, are reiterated in pamphlet and placard, in poetry and in prose, in homely colloquial and in the most polished classical style. The printer has been called on to add to their attractiveness by the use of coloured inks, and the artist to adorn them with appropriate engravings. For instance we have two foreigners

represented bowing down in worship of a black boar with a green head and red snout. We have one printed in four colours representing a pig called Jesus hanging on a cross round which bodies of Chinese are grouped reverently worshipping ; while in the foreground half a dozen foreigners with half a dozen native females in their arms are shown in various attitudes of beastiality. This is called preaching the doctrine. But enough of this. Such are the arguments which the friends of "A Chinese" address to their fellow countrymen.

There is also a considerable contrast as to the methods they advocate for the getting rid of the missionary. "A Chinese" would have it done legally, and with the consent of Governments ; but his friends, notwithstanding the gravity of the charges they bring against us, never give a hint as to lawful remedies. Their idea is that the people should beat us to death, throw us in the rivers, smother us in filth, burn our houses and possessions, and by every rough and ready way have an end put to us at once. It is to stir up the ignorant people to this, and with no other object whatever, that these infamous productions are penned, printed, and widely distributed by the enlightened Chinese with a result which is all too successful.

With regard to the above, I think I am justified in remarking that in addressing one's own people, I do not need to enter on a disproof of such charges. To mention them is to refute them, also that in all probability, their authors knew better than to believe them to be true themselves. They were aware, however, that it was just the sort of thing the ignorant people would swallow greedily, and that it would produce the result they desired. Hence, I think it is a fair statement to say their hatred is not founded on their reasoning, but their reasoning on their hatred. Also that the arguments of "A Chinese" while much more difficult to deal with are all of a piece with those of his friends. They are equally far from the truth, and form no better basis for his hostility than theirs do ; but are yet calculated to be as successful in misleading ignorant—of this particular matter—foreigners as the others do the ignorant natives. I intended to deal at length with the assertions of "A Chinese," but dare not ask for the space. To deny them point blank, and to assert the opposite, is what truth requires with regard to most of them, and this can be done in few, as well as in many words. I deny that Christianity does not "attract the best

men of the nation," meaning thereby, however, not "the most learned," the mandarins, and *literati*, but the farmers, artisans and merchants. "A Chinese" no doubt means the former class when he says "the best Chinese" cannot be converted; and although I do not agree with him, I will not dispute the point. At all events he has the authority of Confucius for it that "it is impossible to plaster a wall of filth or carve on a rotten stick." That the phrase fits the class in question, let the readers of the *Peking Gazette* judge. He insists that the converts are the worst of the people: on the other hand that they—the converts of the Evangelical Protestant Missions—if not all they ought to be, or might be, are yet the best people that be in this land. He says the Protestant missionaries are conscious of their miserable failure to make Chinese morally better and nobler by evangelising. I insist that they are fully persuaded of the opposite, as all their publications show.

He holds that the missionaries' attempt to communicate scientific truth has also been a failure. It would be easy to show that, as to all the Chinese know of Western science, they are indebted to the missionaries for the greater part of it. Till recently they have been the only teachers, and have written ninety per cent. of the books. He says Christian works are a mass of darkness, and the root of the hatred of the foreigners amongst the Chinese. I would say that this is most accurately true of the anti-missionary publications of his friends, and that, in these too, may be best seen what "their light, their culture, and their literary refinement" really amount to.

He allows that the works of charity, hospitals, orphanages, etc., do some good to the Chinese, but setting against them the indemnities that have again and again to be paid to missionaries, holds that they are dear at the price. I would say he can have them cheaper if he likes. No such payments need ever be made, if he can persuade his literary friends to leave off stirring up the people. I believe there never was an anti-missionary outbreak yet, which was not inspired and engineered by the *literati*. As to his remarks about us personally I shall only say that, granting that we are persons of no consequence, of no earthly use, no knowledge of how to behave ourselves, not respected by our fellow countrymen, objects of public charity, etc., etc., still we are not to be murdered with impunity. And the reason is that no Western Government can

look with indifference on its subjects, no matter how insignificant or what their calling may be, becoming the victims of semi-official mob violence. If such a Government could ever exist such a fact would seal its doom. Thus it is not the missionary who at present threatens China with shot and shell—no one could be more anxious to prevent bloodshed than he. It is "A Chinese" himself and his fellow writers of anti-missionary manifestoes. "They have only to persevere, and whether it leads to a war against the Chinese people or not," the fatal first shot will be fired. The sentence in which he alludes to the atrocious Wusueh murders as "what even the most hardened legal prosecutor in a court of justice could prove to be nothing worse than excusable ignorance" shows not only his spirit, but also how little he appreciates the gravity of the matter.

I would not say that "A Chinese" represents the feelings of the whole body of the governing classes, but he certainly does that of the greater part. And after reading such a production, it is easy to understand how a riot can be speedily got up against a missionary without his being in the least to blame, how one can never know if the authorities can be depended on for aid or not; how Englishmen may be murdered in the streets and English ladies thrust away from closed yamên doors into the arms of a howling mob, where they might receive treatment compared with which the jaws of a man-eating tiger would be tender mercy, and all without the official thinking it was anything worth making a trouble about until actually compelled.

I am, etc.,

A MISSIONARY.

Shanghai, 28th July.

VII.

SIR,—In your issue of the 21st July, an attempt is made by "A Chinese" to account for the recent riots. The writer professes to find the cause of these riots in the hatred of the foreigner among the masses of the Chinese people, which hatred, he maintains, springs from a deep-rooted detestation of the missionary. This detestation of the missionary is to be ascribed to three distinct causes: (1) The despicableness of the missionary himself. (2) The worthlessness of his teachings. (3) The vileness of his

converts. These are grave charges, and I am willing to admit that, if they could be substantiated, the suggestion that the missionary enterprise in China should be withdrawn or modified would be fair and reasonable. But can they be substantiated? I am prepared to show that these charges are not based upon facts, and that this remarkable "*Defensio*" is the offspring of ignorance, prejudice, and inordinate self-esteem. Let me premise that I am a missionary of thirty-five years' standing, that I have travelled extensively over eight of the eighteen provinces, that I have been the first Protestant missionary to enter into and preach in some of the largest cities in the Empire, that I have had much to do with the establishing of mission stations at the ports and in the interior, and that I have baptised in all about two thousand persons. I have seen a great deal of the Chinese people, and am not altogether ignorant of the ways of the officials and scholars of the land. I ought to be able to speak with authority on the points raised by the writer of "*Defensio*." It would be interesting to know how many years he has spent in China, what is his present employment, how far he has mingled with the masses of the people, and how far his theories in regard to them are based upon actual experience. A man may be a Chinese and yet know the next thing to nothing about either his country or his people. Should he write again, it is to be hoped that he will let us know who he is and what he is.

It would be an interesting exercise to take up "*Defensio*" sentence by sentence, and point out its great weakness with regard to both fact and logic. But my time and your space will not admit of that. I can only call attention to a few of the most important points. It may conduce to clearness if I put my thoughts into the shape of questions and answers.

I.—Are the recent riots to be ascribed to the hatred of the foreigner among the masses of the Chinese people? My answer to this question is an emphatic *no*. If a hatred such as that which "*A Chinese*" describes did actually exist, how would it have been possible for foreigners to travel and live in the interior, as they have been doing these twenty or thirty years? It does exist in Hunan, and we can easily account for its existence there. But it does not exist in the other provinces. Here and there, now and again, we meet with opposition; but the root of the opposition

is to be found, not so much in the feelings of the people, as in the anti-foreign policy and attitude of the governing and literary classes. The people are usually peaceable and harmless, save when moved to hostility by their superiors. They do not cherish any particular affection for us ; but they are not averse to friendly intercourse with us. If left to themselves they would gladly enter into any relation with us that promised to them certain obvious benefits. They are, however, very much under the control of the gentry and scholars, and become most cruel and revengeful when once their suspicions are excited and their passions roused. The anti-foreign placards are always issued by the scholars, with the full cognisance of the magistrates, and simply fathered on the people. These documents evince the intensest hatred of the foreigner. The charges brought against him are simply monstrous, and the language is often too vile for translation into any living tongue. He is denounced as a perpetrator of the most unnatural crimes—crimes that I never heard of till I came to China, and which, so far as I know, do not exist except in China. This is the cause of the hatred of the foreigner among the masses of the Chinese people so far as it exists. Almost every trouble that we have had in these parts can be traced to this source.

I look upon Hunan as the true source of the recent riots. For years the walls of the cities of Hunan have been covered with anti-foreign placards. For some years the vilest pamphlets and placards have been pouring into Hupeh and other provinces from the province of Hunan. The foreigner is charged with unutterable abominations, and Christianity is denounced as inculcating impurities and atrocities of the foulest kind. Year by year this horrible literature has been growing in magnitude and virulence ; and that which is now circulating, and has been circulating these eighteen months, among the people of this valley, is the filthiest and most inflammatory I have ever seen. At the beginning of last year the attention of the Hukuang Viceroy was called to the existence of this source of danger ; but nothing was done to put an end to it. If the Viceroy had taken active measures last year to suppress this poisonous literature, it is highly probable that none of these riots would have taken place this year. In the recent riots we have the result of a deliberate attempt to inoculate the people

of other provinces with the Hunan spirit ; and the responsibility rests, not with the missionary, not with the masses of the Chinese people, but with the scholars and officials of the land.

II.—Does the hatred of the foreigner spring from a deep-rooted detestation of the missionary? I leave the Roman Catholic missionaries to defend themselves. Speaking on behalf of the Protestant missionary, my reply to this question also is an emphatic *no*. The masses of the people do not hate the missionary, and the longer he lives among them the more friendly they become. I have travelled extensively over this province—Hupeh—and I find that the people, instead of becoming less friendly as the years roll on, become more and more friendly every day. They are far more friendly now than they were thirty years ago, and travelling among them is far safer and more pleasant. If the scholars and gentry would only let us alone, we should have no difficulty whatever with the people. Such is my experience in this province, and such is the experience of the Protestant missionaries generally in all the provinces occupied by them.

As to the hatred of the foreigners among the literary and official classes, the case is different. Their hatred is not a thing of yesterday. It existed long before the first Protestant missionary set his foot on the soil of the Celestial land, and if I may judge from this “*Defensio*,” it is likely to exist for ages to come. The hatred of the foreigner, be he missionary or be he layman, among the literary and official classes, is a deeply rooted and fondly cherished sentiment. Our first war with China is generally regarded, in its relation to the opium trade, as springing out of this trade, and waged in order to obtain indemnity for the losses sustained by the surrender of the opium. But it may be regarded in another light, namely, in its relation to the immoderate assumptions of the Peking Court, and the haughty, contemptuous, and insulting bearing of the Chinese officials in their intercourse with all foreigners from the beginning. The principle which guided them in their intercourse with foreigners is given by Père Premare in the following translation of one of the Chinese maxims:—“The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as the Chinese. Were any one to attempt to control them by the great laws of reason, it would lead to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings understood this well, and therefore ruled barbarians by misrule. Hence, to rule barbarians by misrule

is the true and best way of ruling them." It is quite clear that no beneficial results could possibly accrue from arguing with a people who could think, speak, and act in this way. While their extravagant pretensions remained unrepelled, all overtures on the part of a Foreign Government would be rejected with disdain. No great Power, however, could possibly submit long to such insults and humiliations as England was called upon to submit to in the persons of her representatives; and hence war, apart altogether from the opium traffic, was inevitable sooner or later.

The old pride and hatred still reign in the hearts of the officials and the so-called *litterati*. There are exceptions among them, but they are few and far between. If any one doubts it, let him read the Hunan anti-foreign placards. Nay, let him read this "Defensio," for it is one in spirit with those disgraceful productions. The writer has not a word of condemnation for the recent riots, for the rioters, or for the authors of this mischievous literature. The hatred which finds its vent in the murder of foreigners, and the burning of foreign houses, churches, and orphanages, he glories in as "the hatred which is just in the core of it." The "Defensio" is simply an attempted defence of the deeds of violence and barbarity perpetrated during these riots, and the abuse heaped upon the missionary and his converts is only so much dust thrown into the air with the view of blinding the eyes of foreign residents and the representatives of the Foreign Powers in China.

The writer of "Defensio" will find that he has made a great blunder. There are not many foreigners either in China or out of it, whose eyes are not sharp enough to penetrate this thin disguise. Neither will they be frightened by the threat of a missionary war." I know something of "the temper of the people," and I venture to predict that should a "missionary war" ever come to pass, it will not be a war against the people of China, but as heretofore a war against the Chinese Government, and that it will be induced, not by the doings of the missionary, but by the pride and folly of the governing classes. I pray for the peace of China. Few things could distress my soul so much as to see my own country and China at war with each other again. But I would remind the writer of "Defensio" that he is playing a dangerous game by identifying himself with the *litterati* of Hunan in their unholy crusade. I would also warn the officials of these two provinces against encouraging, whether by active co-operation or guilty

connivance, the production and dissemination of the Hunan anti-foreign literature. The masses of the Chinese people have hitherto not been unfriendly to the missionaries. The aim of this literature is to make them our enemies, and spur them on to deeds of violence. It rests with the Viceroy of Hukuang and the Governor of Hunan to put a stop at once and for ever to this source of danger. They might have done so last year, and thus prevented a great deal of the mischief over which we now mourn. Will they do so this year? If they do not, the evil must go on. Such riots as we have witnessed recently must multiply, and another war with China, call it by any name you please, will become inevitable.

III.—Is the detestation of the missionary to be ascribed to the despicableness of the missionary himself, the worthlessness of his teachings and the vileness of his converts? I shall not repeat what I have already said with regard to the hatred of the missionary among the people of China, but proceed at once to answer the above questions.

(1) What about the despicableness of the missionary as a man and teacher? The writer of "Defensio" speaks of the missionaries as "the unemployed professional persons from Europe and America," who "go about the country with a *comitatus* of the outcasts of Chinese society," "with no restraint to keep them from insulting and injuring except their mere profession of godliness." I do not think it at all necessary to defend the missionaries against these charges, at once so vulgar and false. There are to be found among the missionaries not a few men who would have occupied places of marked distinction had they remained in their native lands. Many of them are men whose names are held in the highest esteem throughout the whole of Christendom. They have left home, and sacrificed much, in order to promote the moral and spiritual elevation of the Chinese. So far from going about insulting and injuring the people, their one aim in life is to benefit them in every possible way. They are emphatically the true friends of the people, and the people are becoming more and more convinced of the fact every day. The missionaries are more than religious teachers; they are benefactors of the people in every sense of the term. The poor are taught in their schools, the sick are healed in their hospitals, and the helpless are helped by them in manifold ways. They are earnest hard-working men, who are

trying to pour into China the light of truth. The Chinese are indebted to them, not only for their knowledge of Christianity, but also for nearly all the scientific knowledge they can boast of. To speak of such men as Morrison, Medhurst, Milne, Bridgman, Williams, Stronach, Wylie, Williamson, Mackenzie, Lockhart, Legge, Muirhead, Edkins, Chalmers, Faber, Taylor, Martin, Blodget, Burdon, Moule, Hill, Foster, and a host of others that might be mentioned, as "unemployed professional persons from Europe and America," etc., etc., is simply outrageous. The man who could pen such an indictment must be extremely ignorant or hopelessly frivolous and insincere.

Taking the missionaries all in all, I do not think it would be possible to find a class of men more earnest, more hard-working, or more devoted to their life-purpose. That there may be here and there a bread-and-butter missionary among them, I will not try to disprove. That there may be a few who have mistaken their calling by coming to China, I am quite willing to admit. But that the missionaries, as a body of men, belong to either the one or the other, I utterly deny. They are men called of God to this ministry, to whom the work itself is a joy. They love China for Christ's sake, and their one ambition is to promote the well-being of her people.

(2) What about the worthlessness of the missionary's teachings? The writer of "Defensio" tells us that the teaching of Christianity in China has proved a miserable failure, and that the sense of this failure has lately made the missionary turn to the teaching of science and works of charity. Here we have a perfect jumble of misstatements. As a matter of fact, Protestant missionaries have been teaching science, and doing works of charity, from the establishment of the Protestant missions in China till now. The first missionary hospital was opened in Canton in the year 1835, and the foundation stone of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca was laid in the year 1818. When I arrived in China in the year 1855, I found missionaries busily engaged in translating standard historical, mathematical, and astronomical works into the Chinese language. What then does this writer mean by saying that the missionaries have *lately* turned to the teaching of science and the works of charity? Again, there are in China about a thousand Protestant missionaries. Out of this number not more than thirty or forty are devoting themselves to the teaching of science. Those who do teach science, however are firm believers in the

gospel, and are actively engaged in propagating it. How then can he say that the missionaries as a body have turned away from their proper calling, and that they have done so from a *sense of failure*? Let me assure the writer of "Defensio" that the Protestant missionaries do not look upon their work in China as a failure. They thoroughly believe in their work, and have no *sense of failure* in regard to it.

The writer tells us again that the root of the hatred of the foreigner among the *educated Chinese* is the anti-scientific character of the Christian Scriptures and the impenetrable darkness that goes under the name of missionary publications. The writer of "Defensio," whoever he may be, has been educated in Europe, and he speaks on this point not as an educated Chinese, but as an educated European. What do the scholars of China know about the sun and moon standing at the bidding of Joshua? or what stumbling-block would that be to *them*? I have had a great deal to do with the scholars of China these thirty-five years; but I have never met with one whose mind was at all troubled by difficulties of this nature. Rightly interpreted this story can be a stumbling-block to no one. But to the scholars of China, who have the power of devouring the wild legends of the *Shan Hai King* (山海經), with unquestioning faith, what difficulty could it possibly present? That the *educated Chinese* do hate the foreigner, I do not deny. But the ground of their hatred is not to be found in this direction. If any one wishes to know what the real ground is, let him read the Hunan anti-foreign literature to which I have already referred. There he will find that their hatred does not spring from an examination of the Christian Scriptures and dogmas, but from the profoundest ignorance of both.* What the *educated Chinese* need,

* Among the Hunan publications there are three that stand pre-eminent for their foulness and blasphemy:—*Death Blow to Depraved Doctrines*, *Death to the Devils' Religion*, and the *Picture Gallery*. The third, being pictorial, is the most offensively vile. The translator of the *Gallery* brings this work to a close with the following note: "With this cartoon the *Picture Gallery* closes. Whatever opinions may be formed of the work, there can be no doubt as to its value in due respect; it represents faithfully the anti-Christian argument in China. It is supposed by some that the anti-Christian writers in this land have studied the nature and claims of the religion which they attack, and that the argument employed by them is based upon its knowledge and reason. No supposition could possibly be wider of the mark. The argument, in all its height and depth, length and breadth, is presented here, and anything more false, more foul, and more blasphemous it would be impossible to conceive. But it is exactly the kind of argument in which the scholars of China delight, and by which the mob in China is moved."

above all things, is a clearer knowledge of Christian truth. If they knew the truth, the truth would set them free from the ignorance which now beclouds their intellects, and the pride which hardens their hearts. But the veil will be taken away, and with its disappearance, the pride will die out. I have known *educated Chinese*, to whom the Christian Scriptures and the missionary publications were at one time an "impenetrable mass of darkness," embrace the Christian faith with passionate ardour, and propagate it with intense earnestness. They found, after a long struggle with pride and prejudice, that the darkness was all in themselves, and that the gospel alone supplied them with that light, strength, and consolation which their souls craved for.

If the Christian Scriptures and the missionary publications be a mass of darkness, why should the *educated Chinese* feel so sore about it? The Buddhist and Taoist publications, which cover the land, do not form a mass of light, and yet the *educated Chinese* do not seem to be frightened by it; on the contrary, many of them accept it as the truth of Heaven, and believe in it with all their hearts. The fact is, the *educated Chinese* are coming to see that Christianity is a power, and that it is beginning to tell on the masses of the Chinese, and it is this that makes them so angry at the present time. Unwittingly "A Chinese" is paying Christianity a compliment by putting forth this argument against the propagation of Christianity in China.

As to the threat of gunboats, that is a matter which concerns the Chinese officials. All that the missionary asks is toleration, and it is the duty of the Chinese officials to protect him as long as he carries on his work peaceably. To talk about the missionaries as thrusting this "mass of darkness" on the people, with "arrogant and aggressive pretentiousness," is nonsense pure and simple. If the officials had done their duty in the past, there would have been no need of gunboats or talk about gunboats; and if the *educated Chinese* had not egged the people on to deeds of violence, the officials would have found their task much lighter than it has been. That a considerable outlay of money has had to be paid for the special protection and the indemnification of the missionaries and their property, I admit. But who is responsible for this? The missionaries, say "A Chinese." The officials and the educated classes say I. If the officials had done their duty, none of the recent riots could have taken place. In the action of the Viceroy

of Hukuang, we have an illustration of what the officials can do, when they are bent on doing the right thing. In Hankow, Wuchang, and Hanyang, the elements of danger existed in abundance. But the strong arm of the Viceroy was stretched out at once, and never withdrawn till the crisis was over. What would have been the condition of these three cities to-day, had the Viceroy not done his duty, it is impossible to say. If the officials of Hupeh will act in the spirit of the Proclamation recently issued by the Viceroy, it is certain that the Protestant missions in Hupeh will give them no further trouble. But will they so act? Would that be a consummation which would commend itself to the judgment and feelings of the *educated Chinese*?

(3) What about the character of the Christian converts? This writer calls them *the outcasts of Chinese society*. But does he know what he is talking about? It is true that "Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called." There are scholars among them; but they are not numerous. The converts are, for the most part, respectable farmers, artisans, shopkeepers, and honest labourers employed in various capacities. Though Christians, they live on terms of friendly social intercourse with their neighbours, and many of them are highly respected by all who know them. Some of them occupy positions of influence and respectability in their native towns and villages. As to their lives, it can be safely said that they live a much higher life than they did before they became Christians, and that it compares most favourably with that of their heathen neighbours. Among them are men who were once opium smokers, gamblers, drunkards, fornicators, unfilial, and unruly, but are now completely delivered from all these vices, and are actively engaged in leading their neighbours into the way of life. We are constantly receiving members into our churches who have been led into the light by such men, and who tell us that the moral change which they witness in the lives of such men has been the means of convincing them of the truth of the Christian religion. In the Protestant churches, we have a regular system of discipline, and every year not a few are expelled from our communion. The opium smoker, the drunkard, the gambler, the dishonest, the lawless, and all who will not accept the Christian code of morality, are not admitted

into Church fellowship. If, after admission, they fall into sin, they are disciplined according to the gravity of the case, and if they persevere in their evil course, they are cut off. This being so, is it not preposterous, on the part of this writer, to call these men "*a comitatus of the outcasts of Chinese society*?"

I maintain that Christianity does promote the moral elevation of the people, and that the Christians stand higher, taking them all in all, than those whom the writer calls the "best of the nation." By the "best of the nation," he means, I suppose, the officials and scholars. For what virtue are they distinguished as a class? Is it for purity, humility, justice, truthfulness, honesty, charity, self-sacrifice, or any other virtue that makes the man? I have been told again and again by respectable Chinese, nay even scholars, that no mandarin could be a Christian, and that for the simple reason that his position makes it impossible for him to be an honest man. In China to-day the "best of the nation" are not to be found among the official and literary classes, but among the farmers, artisans, and labourers. Christianity is influencing and ennobling many of these. This work will continue to go on; silently and slowly for a time, but with a rush by and by. Then, but not till then, will this writer's "best of the nation" turn to the gospel which they now treat with disdain.*

It is useless, and worse than useless, to try and bring contempt on the Christians of to-day by classing them with the Taiping rebels. This writer calls the Taiping Rebellion "the rebellion of the Chinese outcasts of the Christian missions." Again do I ask, does the man know what he is talking about? Not one of the

* It is only necessary to glance through the three publications referred to in the preceding note, in order to see clearly what is the true mental and moral condition of the writer's "*best of the nation*." The publishers of the *Picture Gallery* find it necessary, in order to justify their action in reproducing the work, to insert the following note:—"This reproduction of the *Picture Gallery* being intended only for the thoughtful few, and not at all for the multitude, no attempt has been made to gloss over its extreme grossness in picture and language. It is not the production of illiterate men. The Hunan anti-Christian publications, almost without an exception, have scholars for their authors, and there can be no doubt about this one. This being the case, it has been deemed best to reproduce the *Gallery* just as it stands, in all its obscenity and vileness. In no other way would it be possible to convey a right idea of the unreasoning and blasphemous nature of the Chinese attack on Christianity, of the low mental and moral condition of the Chinese *literati*, and of the deep need of all classes in China of the very faith which not a few among them are seeking to destroy."

men who *started* that rebellion was ever connected with any Christian mission. The Chief, Hung Siu-tsüen, spent two months at the house of Mr. Roberts at Canton but he left without being baptised, Mr. Roberts not being satisfied with him. He had read certain Christian books before he came to Mr. Roberts, which he taught to others. But none of his early followers had anything to do with any missionary whatever. Indeed, the probability is that the Taiping Rebellion would never have existed, had Hung and his followers been connected with a Christian mission, for the converts would have been more enlightened in Christian principle, and the missionaries would have checked any tendency in that direction. I would remind the writer of "*Defensio*," that it was not the original intention of Hung and his followers to raise a rebellion and that it was official persecution that drove them to it. I do not wish to set up a plea for the Taiping Rebellion; but I wish to call attention to the fact that the missionary was not present and that the officials did persecute, and to point out the obvious lesson which this fact teaches, namely, that the true and safe policy of the Chinese Government is to cease from persecuting, and grant the missionary full toleration.

In conclusion let me remind the writer of "*Defensio*," that the main aim of the missionary in coming to China, is not to teach a system of ethics, but to preach Christ, the one true Saviour of men. The great need of China to-day is vital religion—not a religion which men can make great, but a religion which can make men great. The Chinese need a heavenly principle that shall infuse a new moral and spiritual life into the nation, a mighty power that shall transform them in their inmost being, a divine inspiration that shall create within their breasts aspirations after holiness and immortality. In other words what they need is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Apart from Christianity, I can see no hope for China. There is no power in the religious systems of the country to develop a holy character, a true manhood. China cannot advance in the path of true progress without a complete change in the religious life of the nation. It is Christ alone who can lead in the glorious dawn of the Chinese renaissance; the new birth of a mighty nation to liberty and righteousness, and ever-expanding civilisation. Feeling this to be true in our heart of hearts, we, the missionaries, have come to China to preach Christ,

unto one a stumbling-block and unto another foolishness, but unto them that are called, whether the one or the other, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 30th July.

VIII.

SIR,—The writer of the article "*Defensio Populi ad Populos*" deserves credit for the able and earnest, if highly injudicious manner in which he advocated his views; and I, his compatriot, who am equally zealous for the welfare of our people, cannot withhold my admiration for his evident sincerity to denounce what he considers an injury alike to the interests of the Chinese and foreigners.

But having pondered over the subject with deliberation, I cannot help feeling that his over-zealous patriotism has entirely blinded his judgment, causing him to overshoot the mark in all his utterances, and make sweeping statements, every one of which is a sad misrepresentation of the truth. His entire article evinces the most superficial knowledge of matters that have come under his attention, and shows the folly of pronouncing judgments on questions one has only partially studied.

To begin with, permit me to introduce myself as a convert to Christianity, but I am not, as such, either a social outcast, or a prototype of the Taipings, or a man "worse than the worst of the Chinese." I have embraced Christianity from personal conviction of its superior merits as compared with the doctrines of our national Sage and our national traditions, and I consider that the advent of the Protestant missionaries to China with their accessory instruments for promoting the moral, intellectual and social elevation of our people, instead of being an injury alike to the interests of China and foreigners, is the greatest blessing that the All-wise Being can confer upon our unhappy country.

The writer's opinions cannot cause surprise to the well-informed, since they are entertained not only by a large class of thinking natives, but, if I mistake not, they are the views of a majority of a European mercantile community resident in the

East. But these views are as unjust as they are discreditable to those entertaining them, since they are the result of the most wilful ignorance and bigoted prejudice.

I admit that in the course of my travels, I have visited missionaries' residences whose parlours resemble royal palaces more than the lowly dwellings of Christ's apostles. But these instances are rare exceptions, and merely show that among missionaries, as among all other classes of humanity, the selfish hypocritical will find their place as tares will grow among wheat. On the other hand, the number of truly pious, godly apostles is legion, and as I write, recollections of humble, self-denying men and women whom I have met and known, crowd upon my mind. Among these recently dead, we have the Rev. J. Crosset, who, though an eminent scholar and a gentleman, denied himself even the necessities of life, that he might administer to the wants of others, and was happy to share the same bed and partake of the same food with the lowest of men. Truly his life was a shining light to all who came under his influence. Then there is the Rev. James Gilmour, who for years lived alone among the Mongols, enduring all the rigours of tent-life, and even practising a vegetarian diet, that he might the better prosecute his work.

As to the living missionaries of the genuine type, let me mention an incident that came under my notice. The Rev. Hampden Du Bose, of Soochow, was one day preaching in the streets, as was his daily wont, when an impudent lad came up to him, and pulled his long flowing beard. Mr. Du Bose gently laid his hand on the other's *queue*, remarking, "Why are you surprised at my long beard, my lad? The only difference between us is, you grow your hair behind, I grow mine in front." Hearty laughter followed among his audience, to the great discomfiture of the would-be mocker.

I cannot forbear to mention also the extreme devotion of the now absent Mrs. Alexander King (*née* Miss Howard) private physician to Lady Li, wife of the Chihli Viceroy. She was never appealed to in vain by the poorest of the natives for medical attendance at their homes, and her solicitude for her patients, were they members of the Viceroy's family or the children of a coolie, was ever the same.

I come now to the three principal charges which have been noticed by others of your correspondents.

Under the first charge, the writer is not content with declaring that the Christian convert is not morally better than the ordinary Chinaman, but is not even as good and as useful a citizen; in other words that the convert has been debased through coming into contact with Christianity and its professors.

Before making a comparison between the Christian convert and the average Chinaman, as representing two distinct classes of our people, let us see how they are each taught, trained, educated, and controlled by external influences.

The Chinaman from his early youth is taught that the Confucian writings are his ideal moral code, that according to this code, filial piety is the *summum bonum* of this earthly life; that the Five Relations form the five cardinal social virtues; that honesty and sincerity are obligatory only so far as they are consistent with expediency; that evil is to be requited by evil, and kindness by kindness.

Indoctrinated with such ideas, the Chinaman's ideal moral life is a miserable failure.

Coming to the question of the average Chinaman's veracity and sense of honour, as a result of Confucian teaching, I agree with Carlyle that "silence is golden." The average Chinaman's revengeful disposition is another too well known characteristic to need comment here.

We will now examine into the principles which the Christian convert is taught. Just as the Chinaman's *summum bonum* of practical ethics is filial piety, so the Christian's is universal love. The sincere Christian convert whose heart is full of this love, will manifest all its attributes, which together make up the stature of the perfect man. And I say it is an utter impossibility that such a man can be inferior morally to the average Chinaman, indoctrinated, as the latter is, with solely Confucian ideas. It is not true that the native converts as a class are induced to join the Christian Church through the hope of pecuniary benefit or material advantage; but it is true that only an infinitely small proportion of them obtain any so-called pecuniary assistance from missionaries.

The fact is, the Christian converts of China are a sober, peaceful, and honest class of people, who, convinced that their sad earthly lot has little or no happiness to give them, have been eager to accept the glad tidings of the Gospel, as affording them the hope of ameliorating their condition hereafter.

I will now briefly reply to the second charge in which the missionaries are accused of teaching "intellectual jugglery" to the Chinese. I am certainly amazed at the bold manner in which the writer ascribes "the root of the hatred of foreigners among the educated Chinese," a hatred which he knows and which every one knows had its origin and existence long prior to any missionary publications, or any attempt to teach Western science to the Chinese. I wish, that ere the writer so unwarrantably denounced the missionary publications as "a mass of impenetrable darkness," he had carefully examined the contents of such periodicals as *The Chinese Scientific and Industrial Magazine* and *The Review of the Times*, in which subjects of travel, history, biography and science are treated with great didactic skill and precision.

Permit me to give my opinion, as a native, as to the root of this anti-Christian feeling among educated Chinese. The Chinese scholar is taught, soon after he has learned his letters, that the Confucian doctrine is the only true doctrine, and all other religions are heresies, and that, as a faithful and loyal disciple of the great philosopher and demi-god Confucius, it behoves every educated Chinaman to repel every effort to introduce extraneous religions into China. I say it is this fear of having their national demi-god dethroned and his so-called sacred teachings superseded which is actuating the *literati* to resist and malign Christianity, a course which I fear they will continue to pursue until the intellectual enlightenment of the masses become a too powerful factor for them, and they are forced to the wall.

The third charge that the works of charity are a scheme devised for the benefit of the unemployed professionals of Europe and America is so outrageously absurd, that I do not deem it worthy of further notice here.

Finally, I cannot conclude this article without alluding briefly at least to the manifold benefits which China has already received directly or indirectly, through Christianity and its propagandists. In diplomacy, China owes the establishment of her diplomatic relations with Europe and America to the zeal and ability of a Christian gentleman, the Hon. Anson Burlingame. In commerce, the principal steamship line of the country, the C. M. S. N. Co., is indebted for its existence to the enterprising spirit of Mr. Tong King-sing, a beneficiary of the Morrison school at Hongkong. In mining industry, the only successful mine in China at present,

that at Tongshan, would never have been heard of without the indomitable persevering spirit of the same gentleman. In railway enterprise, such progress as has already been made both in North China and in Formosa, owes its origin to the little and at first unheard-of line between Tongshan and Sukochuang, which was built and maintained through the bold spirit also of Mr. Tong.

In education, the Tung Wên Kuan at Peking owes its inception and final establishment to the influence of Christian gentlemen, and it is evident our Government are in no fear of having "intellectual jugglery" taught their young men, for we find an ex-missionary appointed as its President. The Educational Mission to the United States some twenty years ago, the results of which are bound to be felt if not in this generation, in the generations to come, was the labour of a Christian gentleman, who had been a child of mission charity. In a word, the innumerable schools of Western learning, scattered all over the Empire, built and maintained by Christian enterprise, attest the intellectual awakening that is going on among our people, an awakening which I trust will not cease until the impenetrable darkness now enshrouding this land is dispelled, and the new, effulgent light of Christian knowledge is replaced in its stead.

I am, etc.,

ANOTHER CHINESE.

Shanghai, 13th August.

IX.

SIR,—I beg to reply in a few words as a layman to the indictment against missionary work in China by "A Chinese" that appeared in your issue of the 21st July, 1891. I take the points in the order your correspondent does.

1.—Moral elevation of the people.—I agree that most of the converts made are made from the lower class of Chinese, but they it is who are most in need of moral elevation. It is the sick man who requires the physician. That Christianity has in the last 1,800 years elevated the moral character of poor people is an historical fact. In China myriads who would have been criminals had they remained heathen and have engendered a criminal posterity, have become respectable members of society and engendered a progeny of respectable persons, among whom have been men distinguished for virtue and talents.

2.—Intellectual Enlightenment.—Your correspondent considers the mention of miracles in the Bible enough to condemn Christianity as stupid and ignorant. So intelligent a man as your correspondent must surely know the position taken up by scientific disbelievers in Christianity. No scientific man denies the possibility of a miracle; a miracle is merely a phenomenon. It is a pure question of evidence as to whether we believe the miracle or phenomenon actually took place at the time stated. But the miracle or phenomenon may have taken place without evidence being obtainable. In the tropics till lately no evidence could have been obtained as to the phenomenon of the congelation of water. Again the question as to whether a man's work leads to intellectual enlightenment must be judged by his knowledge, not by his ignorance. If the missionary is able to teach his convert truth of which the convert was previously ignorant he adds to the convert's intellectual enlightenment, even though there may be matters in regard to which both teacher and taught are mistaken.

3.—Works of Charity.—In the first place it cannot be admitted that work of charity is a secular work. Search all history through and it will be found that religion has been the warp and woof of all works of charity. Nations are composed of individuals and the benefit to the individuals of a nation is a benefit to the nation. As for the cost of these works of charity, it is the religious motive that supplies it, it is the religious motive that renders the cost small, as religious men work either gratuitously or for much smaller salaries than they could draw in other professions. A missionary doctor for instance rarely receives more than £300 a year. No secular doctor would be content in China with so small a salary.

No missionary I have heard of wishes to heap insults and cry vengeance upon the Chinese first, but your correspondent begs the whole question at issue when he states that the Chinese Government is honestly doing its duty. Your correspondent considers that the murder of Englishmen, the nearly beating to death of English women and children, the burning and robbing of Englishmen's premises, are nothing worse than excusable ignorance. I think there is at least room for difference of opinion here.

Every foreign missionary is restrained by the law of his country. European countries unlike China enforce the law regardless of persons. As for their native converts they are

amenable to the laws of China ; it is not the fault of the missionaries that the laws of China are defective, and the administration of those laws most inefficient.

I am, etc.,

A LAYMAN.

Shanghai, 25th July.

X.

“CHINA AND MISSIONARIES”—THOUGHTS BY A LAYMAN.

A little knowledge is dangerous, but depth of knowledge gives modesty and caution. The really book-ignorant man is far from objectionable. The fisherman, the goat-herd, the wood-cutter and the farm-labourer may be found really pleasant and philosophic persons. But the pedantic creature who has read much and digested little and who has probably never been beyond the confines of his own province and certainly never beyond the limits of the Empire in which he has been produced and on which for some occult reason, he is to vegetate, wither and pass away, and who has never had any experiences except those of committing to memory jingling sentences, and borrowing money, is infinitely inferior to the rustic. Yet he is still superior to the creature who has never entered the hall of any, but stood in the portals of many learnings, who has never acquired any principles, but has committed to memory without realising the meaning many sayings, and who sits on the rail prepared to jump into civilisation or barbarism, well-doing or evil-doing as opportunity or reward may suggest. Let us hope that every creature has its use—the worm serves as food to the bird, and this as a warning to man that creatures should not be taken out of the sphere for which nature intended them. In a northern province of China there was a water carrier. He had two sons. They were taken by missionaries to America and educated. They returned to China, but their instincts did not lead them to be missionaries but rather to dollars, smoking, women and wine—they went to the bad. It is dangerous to meddle rashly with what we do not understand. Had these boys been left to carry water and had they been taught as much Christian honesty as they were capable of receiving, they might have lived and died as respectable Chinese coolies. What Chinamen need to learn is

not European literature but European Christian honesty. If anything can save China it is Christianity, for Christianity will produce honesty, and what China requires to give her life is honesty.

Now let us look back into the history of the world. Persia, great extensive Persia, attempted the conquest of little Greece, but the great eastern power recoiled shattered by the force, the bravery and the cohesion of the little western power. To the west of Greece lay Rome, and Greece went down before Rome, fighting bravely it is true, but fighting ineffectually against the sterner and stronger stuff of which the western power was made. About this time Christ entered the world in a little, powerless state. He preached a doctrine of peace, kindness, long-suffering and humanity. Never before had the teaching "Do to others as you would have others do to you" fallen on the human ear. Christianity became the religion of the Roman emperors and empire; but in becoming a state religion it became an impure religion. The pure Christianity of the early Christians was still held by a few. But the Christianity of the Roman empire was tainted by paganism. In the north-west of Europe was a race, of great bone and sinew, fierce, indeed blood-thirsty; yet when the warlike passions were not called forth, kind, noble, generous, and great. After a long strife Rome went down before these men as Greece had before Rome, as Persia had before Greece.

From that day to this the descendants of these men have held sway in the world. They adopted Christianity, they greatly divested it of its sacred rites and purified it by their study of its sacred books until they made it almost as pure as it had originally been. The purification and intensification of Christianity held pace with the increase of scientific knowledge and with the increase of military power. Mohametism made a lodgment in Spain but it was defeated by France and by Spain rolled back into Africa. It effected a lodgment in south-eastern Europe, but here Austria and Hungary rolled it back and here it now exists, merely because Austria-Hungary, Russia, and England cannot agree as to the disposition to be made of the lands which it cumbars. The tide of Mongolian conquest under Gengis Khan set westward until it almost touched the eastern frontier of Germany, but this the Russian rolled back eastwards and now the mighty Russian power stands in a position to place his hand when he will not only on

Mongolia but on Peking too. Let us look at the map of the world, regard the Christian countries and think of their power. America, Europe, Australia, South Africa, with India under Britain's wing. What remains? What is the power of what remains? Turkey existing merely because the powers cannot decide as to its apportionment, Persia existing merely because England and Russia are not agreed. Afghanistan exists merely because England considers it would not pay to govern it. But Turkey must soon be partitioned and Persia and Afghanistan must soon be wiped out of the map of the world and become provinces in the Russian and British empires. Japan, Siam, and Corea are small and inconsiderable—Japan may exist for a considerable time. China then only remains. It looks as if China would fall to Russia. It may be that some of the other western powers may demand a share. But let us return to our subject. The Greek and Roman civilisations produced military systems quite strong enough to break down all eastern nations with which they came in contact. The east has never been able to withstand the west. But Christianity produced a new civilisation in Europe and the new European civilisation produced a new military system. European civilisation improved and the military system which it produced improved. This military system has now attained to such a power that a few European ships and a few European regiments could conquer the entire non-Christian world. The weakest of European nations could shatter any non-Christian power except Turkey. Yet Europe with its races which once delighted in war, with its war ships and its machine guns, neither enslaves nor yet plunders the rest of the world. What restrains it? One thousand years ago the fathers of Scandinavia, Germany, England, America and parts of France, Italy and Spain delighted in rapine and blood. The fierce freebooters harried southern Europe, northern Africa and western Asia. If they had got to eastern Asia, oh! how they would have stormed and sacked and laid great tracts of country waste. Oh! how these feeble eastern people would have been mowed down by their heavy swords. In fancy I can see fifty Northmen storming and sacking Shanghai, going up the Yangtze and obliging every town to Chungking and beyond to pay a ransom or become ruins and ashes! Aye, I can see Tientsin sacked and burned, Tungchow held by a boat's crew or two, and Peking either paying a heavy ransom or burning!!

And yet this did not happen ! Why ? Because these fierce and irresistible men did not know the way to come here—their sons were softened by Christianity. Danish and English freebooters changed into peace-loving citizens who believed it was wrong to kill and wrong and unfair to take that for which they had not worked. The Danish and English vessel which was hardly as good as a junk or a *lorcha* changed into a stately ship, came round the Cape of Good Hope, brought cottons and missionaries, and bought tea. Happy it was for these poor people that these Europeans ships brought missionaries, not pirates. A thousand years before we would not have brought bibles but swords, we would not have converted but slaughtered. That Christianity produced the civilisation which produced our military system is a fact that is clear to any understanding. That the continued action of Christianity on the European conscience produced the conscientiousness which puts a restraint on the use of a European military power is clear to any intelligence ; and that the increase of this conscientiousness and the increase of military power have gone step by step together is very clear. It is also a fact that Europeans did not find their way to China until Christianity had got such a hold on them as to restrain them from injuring the weak. The reader must decide whether these facts show a design or not in the governance of the world, and if they give evidence of a design, then whether or not there is a designer or governor. It appears certain that the Chinaman has every reason to be thankful that Christianity existed in Europe before the European found his way to the shores of China.

Now why is the missionary in China ? Because the European, American, and Australian believe it to be their duty to subscribe and send the missionary here to teach Christianity to the Chinaman. It is no use to discuss whether it is right to send the missionary or not. The western world believes that it is right, and therefore the missionary will be sent, whatever the Chinaman may think on the subject. As to the part western governments play in the matter, they simply carry out the wish of the western people. Any western government which should think of opposing missionaries in China would soon find itself obliged to change its policy or make way for a new government. If the English or American government declared against missionaries it would before six months be turned out.

Moral worth and material power are with Christendom. Immorality, stupidity and weakness are with the non-Christian world. Christianity has made its home among strong and stern people. Can the issue be for a moment doubted?

A non-Christian nation cannot organise a military force to contend with a military force of a Christian power, and perhaps the greatest of the many reasons of this is that a non-Christian nation cannot get honest officials and honest military officers. In the armies of all non-Christian powers dishonesty and injustice prevail. The result is natural—soldiers do not receive pay. Arms and ammunition are purchased and the merchant who sells them charges 50% too much, and gives 25% to the official who purchases them. Bad arms are sold at the price of good arms and a heavy return made to the official who purchases.

A distinguished British naval officer was lately in charge of a non-Christian fleet, but he found insubordination, gambling, and pilfering so rampant that he resigned. In case of war that fleet would simply furnish a prize and an increase of power to its Christian enemy.

As to the few westerns there are who profess to disbelieve Christianity—they do not understand themselves. They are the production of Christianity. Their forefathers were moulded by Christianity. They were *evolved* by Christianity. They are simply diseased members of the Christian body; their minds are diseased as the minds of lunatics. "Judge not that you be not judged." Let no man judge the poor diseased, let all men hope that Christ will extend to them the same compassion as He extended to the thief on the cross and remember that Christ never said what should be the fate of the other thief.

Shanghai, 28th August.

MISSIONARIES' VIEWS.
(IGNORANCE AND CALUMNIES OF *LITERATI*.)

I.

SIR,—The attention of your readers has been called of late to the anti-foreign publications of Hunan in their special bearing on the recent riots. It cannot but be a great relief to every well-wisher of China to hear that the Foreign Powers have decided that Hunan shall be opened, and shall cease to be the fount of this

poisonous literature. If the Foreign Powers are united and decided, the thing can be done, and that without firing a single shot or sacrificing a single life.

There is another source of danger to which attention should be called at this time. A collection of public documents on all state questions, called King-shi-wen (經世文) was published in 1826 in 120 books. It was republished by the Shanghai publishers in 1889, with a supplement, also in 120 books. The editor of this edition is Koh Shi-jui (葛士潛), a Shanghai man. At the Shanghai conference, May 13th, 1890, the Rev. Timothy Richard, in his able paper on the *Relations of Christian Missions to the Chinese Government*, called special attention to this collection of documents. Mr. Richard, for convenience sake, calls these books the "Blue-Books" of China, and tells us that they are in a catalogue of the books for sale in the government bookshop of Tientsin and probably in all the provinces. Two books of the supplement are devoted to Christian missions. I have just glanced through both, and can quite understand Mr. Richard when he spoke of their contents as scandalous. Anything more false, disgraceful, and inflammatory, it would be difficult to find even among the vile placards of Hunan. "After this," says Mr. Richard, "follow scandalous quotations from Wei Yuen, who says that men and women sleep promiscuously together in the churches; that 130 taels of silver are given in three instalments to the converts to help them to do business; that the Christians' eyes are scooped out by the priest after death; that when these eyes are melted up with lead, eight per cent. of the lead is turned to silver; that a pill is given, which makes the convert pledge himself for life, and so bewitched is he that the first thing he does is to destroy the ancestral tablets. That several other things are practised by Christians, which I consider too vile to print." Mr. Richard closes his remarks on the Blue-Books with the following grave reflection: "Thus end the Blue-Books without the slightest acknowledgment of any benefit derived from modern missionaries. They wish to convince their people that Christian missionaries only come here for mischief, and that the converts are the scum of society! In face of about a million taels spent annually for the good of China; in face of tens of thousands of patients gratuitously healed annually; of the many valuable books translated; of the

tens of thousands of young and old taught ; of the hundreds of thousands saved from death during famines, and of the tomb-stones of those who have given their lives for the good of China, this collection of obscenities and lies is their version of what we have done for them ! ”

It is to be hoped that some one will take these two books in hand ; and bring their falsehood and vileness into the light. It is of the utmost importance also that their publication, *as they now stand*, should be suppressed. The Hunan placards are intended for the multitude ; these books are intended for the officials and literary classes. They are to be found in every *yamên*, and in thousands of private libraries. The Foreign Powers have decided that the Hunan publications shall cease, because they poison the minds of the people. For a still stronger reason they ought to decide that these two books shall cease *in their present form*, because they poison the minds of the officials and scholars.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 21st August.

II.

I am very thankful that there has been a great improvement in the relation of the Christian missions to the Chinese Government during the last twenty years, but it might have been *far* better. The fact that we should still, in the year 1890, be surrounded by such dynamite as these Blue Books contain, with exclusion from some provinces and many cities, is largely because so little has been done for this specific 'end. No other department of work, such as the medical, the educational or evangelistic, could be thought possible for a moment without men, specially qualified for the task, devoting themselves entirely to the work.

Since coming to the Conference, I have heard of a fresh series of risings against Christian missions, starting in Ch'angsha in Hunan, and coming down to Ich'ang, Wuch'ang and Nanking, just such as we would expect to follow from the circulation of such literature as we find in these Blue Books. I do not believe for a moment that the circulation of these can be intentional on the part

of the Government, as it is contrary to all social, national and international principles, and contrary to their growing friendliness. But their appearance among the state papers and public documents, and their sale in the government book stores, give them a semi-official character to the ignorant and prejudiced. It is, therefore, to be hoped that measures will be taken at once to check further mischief arising from their circulation. If nothing be done, after having the matter brought before the notice of the Conference, it will seem as if we could not answer them; and this will put the Christian church and missionaries in many a place in a position of utmost peril.

But this is only a single illustration of the unsatisfactory state of our relation generally; I therefore hope that measures will be taken to enter fully into the whole question with a view to securing a better understanding.

T. RICHARD.

—(*Mission Conference Report, 1890.*)

III.

SIR,—In your issue of August 25th, there appears a letter of mine calling attention to the "Blue Books" of China. I have just received a letter from a highly valued friend, containing the following sentence: "Your letter in to-day's paper amounts to saying that the 經世文 should be suppressed." As others may have the same impression, I should like to state that nothing could have been further from my intention than to suggest the suppression of this great work. Indeed, I should be exceedingly sorry to see it suppressed, being, as I think, a most valuable and interesting collection of documents. The work consists of 240 books in all. I have called attention to *two* books only, found in the supplement, and mainly concerned with Christian missions; and what I say is that the publication of *these two* books, as *they now stand*, should be suppressed. All I ask for is that what is slanderous, obscene, and inflammatory in these two books should be expunged. Whether there is more in the work which deserves the same fate, I cannot say; but there can be no doubt that there is much in this portion of it which ought not to be allowed to remain. The 經世文 is a standard work, and it is disgraceful that these false

and vile things should appear in it. The fact that they are published in such a work gives them a special weight and value in the estimation of every native reader.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 11th August.

IV.

THE RECENT RIOTS IN CHINA. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THEM?

I.

It has been frequently stated of late that the real responsibility for the recent anti-foreign riots in China rests with the official and literary classes and not with the people. On the other hand, the officials themselves would throw the responsibility entirely on the Ko-lao and other secret societies, and would represent themselves as being altogether innocent of any desire to molest and injure foreigners. Dr. John has called the attention of readers of the *North-China Daily News* to an important and semi-official publication that has a very considerable circulation in China at the present time. A few quotations from this book may perhaps throw some light on this question of "Who is responsible?" and if we admit the principle that the man who sets fire to a house is to be held accountable for all consequences resulting from his action, even though he was not present when the flames obtained complete mastery over the building and when the worst mischief was done, then we must maintain that the official and governing classes of China are accountable both for the recent outbreaks, and also for other earlier attacks on foreigners and foreign property, and that they must not be allowed now to pose as innocent men and as the champions of peace and order. For several years, outrageous charges against foreigners and especially against the Roman Catholic missionaries have been circulating in China with the cognisance, and even with the *imprimatur*, of some of the highest mandarins in the Empire. The authors of the blasphemous and obscene Hunan placards which have now become so notorious, have really done little more than put into a popular dress statements and charges which appear in books that have been described, more or less accurately, as Chinese Blue Books, and in documents published side by side with memorials to the throne from such

men as Tsêng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-t'ang, Chang Chih-tung, Li Hung-chang, P'êng Yü-lin, Shên Pao-chêng, Ting Jih-chang, and other officials of the very highest standing. A collection of State papers published in England bearing the names of the Duke of Argyll, Lords Salisbury, Ripon, Beaconsfield, Dufferin, Selborne, Granville, Coleridge, Hartington and Messrs. Gladstone, Goschen, W. H. Smith and other illustrious statesmen would not carry more weight amongst Englishmen than the collection of papers now under consideration carries in China. In such a collection the lustre of the names of the more celebrated writers is naturally reflected on their less celebrated associates and the whole work is apt to be regarded as stamped in every part with the highest sanction of authoritative opinion.

The full title of these "Blue Books" is 皇朝經世文續編. Some account of them will be found in a paper by the Rev. Timothy Richard published in the "Records of the Missionary Conference held at Shanghai in 1890," pp. 407-410. Another reference to them will be found in a paper by Dr. Edkins on p. 572 of the same book. Dr. Edkins quotes from the paper of a writer on whose mind foreign literature seems to have made a favourable impression, but that paper does not afford a fair specimen of the tone adopted by the majority of the writers who deal with foreign matters. The entire work consists of one hundred and twenty books which are published in Shanghai in thirty-two volumes; it first appeared in 1888 and is apparently printed from metal type. It is a sequel or supplement to an earlier collection of public documents published many years ago under a similar name. The editor of this more modern work is a Kiangsu man named Koh Shi-jui (葛士澂), who is said to be occupying a high position now in the Hanlin Yuen at Peking. The foulest things in the book appear to be from his pen. If in England any "lewd fellow of the baser sort" should commit to print such vile and filthy statements as this accomplished Chinese scholar has done, both he and his publisher would be liable to find themselves in gaol. It would be impossible to translate into English many of the things which Koh Shi-siun says of the Roman Catholics. The entire collection of documents bears on its title page the name of Wang Wên-shao (王文韶) formerly Governor of Hunan, and it may be said to be published

under his patronage. A complimentary preface speaking of the work as invaluable, is written by Yu Yueh (俞樾) some time Literary Chancellor of the province of Honan, who also himself is the author of several papers in the book. Altogether there are between one and two thousand documents given, bearing on a variety of subjects such as Education, Principles of Government, Naval and Military Affairs, etc. The last twenty books are devoted to foreign affairs under various headings. The most objectionable passages occur in papers that treat of missions, but other parts are exceedingly objectionable, and it is evident that no small amount of the ill-will which missionaries awaken is due to the fact that they are supposed to be working for a political end, using religion to cover their real design of bringing China under foreign dominion. The terms 夷 "barbarian" and 番 "uncivilised" are constantly applied to foreigners; even the term 鬼 "demon" appears sometimes and that in a memorial addressed to the throne. Thus in a document contained in Book 191 written by Liu Yun-ko (劉韻珂) sometime Governor of Chêkiang, the word "barbarian" is that regularly employed to describe the foreigner, though he also speaks of opening ports or carrying on trade with the "demons." The whole tone of this paper is thoroughly anti-foreign. The same book contains a secret memorial to the throne anent "the affairs of the barbarians" from Yin Chao-yung (殷兆鏞), a member of the Hanlin Yuen.

But to pass from generalities to particular statements, the following passage from a document in Book 104 by Tsiang Tun-fuh (蔣敦復) is an example of wild, reckless writing which cannot but have a most injurious influence on people who regard it as the utterance of a serious politician. We have only to imagine the sentiments which are here given, filtering through the scholars and gentry of any particular district into the minds of the common people, and we have at once all the elements necessary for an anti-foreign riot and for an attempt to expel the foreigner. This Tsiang Tun-fuh was, I believe, a Hunan man and another member of the Hanlin Yuen, but he has been dead now for some years. His wrath seems to have been especially awakened by some utterances of Sir Thomas Wade and Sir Robert Hart on the relations of China with foreign countries and on the development of the mineral and other resources of the Chinese Empire, and he addresses himself in

reply to Sir Thomas Wade. After some introductory observations he says:—"Foreigners like to come to China; the Chinese do not desire to go to foreign lands. In this the feelings of the Chinese and of foreigners are different. In the matter of trading and making profit for the support of oneself and one's family the feelings of the Chinese and of foreigners are exactly alike. But those who come from Western lands to trade with us all do so that they may get some profit out of us, and snatch from us the means of gain. This is all according to treaty; but I fear we have not yet got to the end of Western plans. What are the Chinese going to depend on [by and by] for support? It is said that in ten years the treaties are to be altered. Your Excellencies say that foreigners will ask for other things and will get them, and they will go on asking till they get all they want. If one examines this matter calmly [it appears that] what they want, is what we Chinese cannot grant, and that is the plain truth. China from north to south and from east to west is to have foreign railways and carriage roads. The mountains and the rivers of China, the natural barriers of the country, are to be treated by foreigners according to their will, the mountains to be levelled and the rivers filled up just as they please. When they are allowed to do as they like, then they will be happy. The myriads of the Chinese people are to serve them, the millions of Chinese wealth are to go into their treasuries, the countless acres of China with its houses and fields are to pay them taxes, all fish, flesh, and fowl are to obey their imperious voice, and are to delight their eyes and ears by reason of their abundance. Foreigners must take everything, and overcome everything, and nothing short of that will do. But if it were only one ten-thousandth part of this that you wanted, you can't have it. We, the Chinese people, will rise *en masse* and thrust our swords into the foreigners' bellies. Wealth, goods, minerals and treasure Western people know how to love, but they do not know what is detestable. These things (*i.e.*, ill-gotten wealth) must be called a poison in the system and a cancer reaching to the bone. Into our lands and houses and fields foreigners can come, but they will not leave them. They will be 'driven forward and taken in nets and traps and pitfalls.' They trifle with everything and busy themselves in disturbing everything. We will surround them and keep a look-out for them, and hem them in, and at every point they will find trouble. And why all this? Because they disregard the feelings of humanity and the

laws of Heaven and only regard force. Do not be astonished. Your Excellency only sees the present tangible gain enjoyed by foreigners and you do not know the unseen loss which is coming on them at another time or how great it will be."

Then comes a passage about missions, and about the superiority of Chinese teaching to Christianity. In China, he says, people have not to be *exhorted* to follow the teaching of the sages. Everybody, from the Emperor to the common people, all follow it as a matter of course unless they wish to be like the beasts. But the missionaries use all sorts of foolish and wrong methods to make converts and after all only get hold of coolies, country women, and ignorant people, and even these only outwardly yield assent; when the missionaries do not see them, they worship idols and their ancestors. Even Buddhism and Taoism are incomparably superior to Christianity.

"But," he goes on, "foreigners in wishing their religion to spread in China use this pretext to cover another idea. The Chinese do not believe, and they know it, but they have a plan. They do a little charity in feeding the people, and by small acts of virtue impress the eye and the ear and delude the people with talk about great happiness and abundant rewards, and so they deceive their hearts and transform their inner being, till they are befooled so that they cannot return to their former state. Their converts regard neither gain nor loss, neither life nor death but what they are told they simply follow. When there is no trouble in the Empire they act as soldiers lying in ambush, but when once trouble suddenly springs up our Christians appear like a cloud and with one consent rebel against their rulers. What a calamity to China! The Chinese know it and therefore are the more unwilling to become Christians, and even though the authorities did not forbid men to become Christians they would themselves tell others not to do so."

Sir Robert Hart seems to have spoken of a possible conflict between China and Foreign Powers which might end in the disintegration of the Empire. The passing away of the Imperial power would, this writer says, be far from a gain to Western countries. "Who is it," he asks, "who to-day allows foreign trade and foreign missions? It is the Emperor, but the people do not want it. However, although they do not want it, there is the Emperor and there are the Emperor's commands to his ministers

to negotiate treaties with foreign ambassadors, and no one in the Empire dares to disobey, but this is one great and clear result of China being under the rule of an absolute monarch. Suppose now the Emperor should at some future date issue a proclamation saying 'The treaties with foreign countries have many inconveniences for the people of China. For myself I cannot decide [on their renewal], the people may decide the matter for themselves, the people would in that case promptly and energetically with accumulated passion and deep hatred oppose the foreigner. At the news of this proclamation even the little children would prepare themselves and take up spear and cudgel and go forward against the foreigner regardless of danger.'

The above extracts show the temper and the bent of this writer's mind. He hates the foreigner, merchant and missionary alike; the one is a thief and the other is a villain. He has more to say in abuse of both, but the passages already translated suffice to explain what he thinks of us and what would be our fate if he could obtain the desires of his heart.

II.

The outbreaks against foreigners this year have been especially characterised by attacks on the orphanages of the Roman Catholics. Even in Wusueh, where Messrs. Argent and Green were murdered, the riot was essentially an anti-orphanage riot although there was no orphanage in the place. Children were being brought in from country districts to Wusueh to be forwarded to the orphanage at Kiukiang. Rumour was busy in describing what was to be done with them when they got there. The minds of the Wusueh people were wrought upon with horrible tales of the barbarities practised by the Romanists on the children whom they profess to befriend; hints were thrown out that the bungalows of the Wesleyan Mission on the hills opposite to Wusueh were a sort of kitchen where babies were boiled, and at last all this wild talk produced its natural result. An assault was made on the foreigners, the only men who could be found were publicly murdered, the women and children were barely allowed to escape with their lives, and the houses and chapel of the Wesleyan Mission were looted and destroyed.

In view of these facts the contents of the **皇朝經世文續編** or Chinese Blue Books, as far as they bear on the orphanage

work of the missionaries, are worthy of special attention. The officials would find it very hard to deny that the sum and substance of all the anti-orphanage slanders which produced such terrible results during the present summer are to be found in these Blue Books. The talk of the teashops in Wusueh was the echo of documents published with the authority of high officials. The streams of popular fanaticism spring from the fountain of official malignity. This subject will require to be treated by itself. In the present paper I shall content myself with showing what the Blue Books have to say about other charges brought against the Roman Catholics besides those that relate to orphanages.

In Book III, of this collection, missions are dealt with at considerable length in two chapters entitled: "The gradual demoralisation of China," and "The expulsion of Christianity from Kiangsi and Hunan." The first of these two chapters seems to be made up of about fourteen pages of quotation from an intensely anti-Christian book entitled **中西紀事** or *Notes on China and the West*, with nine pages of additional matter from the pen of the editor of the Blue Books himself. The second chapter has about seven pages of quotation from the same source, with about two pages of supplementary information by the editor.

I pass over everything in these books that may be said to be merely hostile criticism of the historic facts on which Christianity is based, or of the doctrines which it teaches. There is plenty of anti-Christian matter in the collection which is vulgar, coarse and ignorant. The facts of the Gospel story are misrepresented and its doctrines are travestied. But of that nothing need be said now. Many of the objections which are urged against Christianity are as old as Christianity itself and have been made again and again in other lands. We have not now to consider assaults made on Christianity but assaults made on life and property. In my previous paper I pointed out that the Chinese hatred of the foreigner is directed against him as a foreigner, and only subordinated as a missionary. A missionary friend of mine who visited one of the large towns in Hunan some time ago tells me that the words he heard everywhere were not "Here comes the man who wants to make us Christians," but "Here comes the man who wants to steal our trade." In many parts of the interior the missionary is the only foreigner who is known, and therefore calumny spends itself in vilifying the missionary work. When in the old Canton

days the merchant was the only foreigner that was known, the anti-foreign feeling used to vent itself upon him.

In the editorial addition to the chapter on "The gradual demoralisation of China" in the Blue Books we find the following account of the Roman Catholics:—"When the priest receives a convert, the convert is said 'to eat the religion.' On putting down his name he receives four taels in silver. He pastes up on his door a piece of red paper on which is drawn a cross in the midst of an oval with an awl, a hook, and a spear. Some say the God the Christians worship was torn to death, therefore they depict on their doors the instruments with which he was killed. On the 1st and 15th of each month men and women all assemble in their church and chant prayers with closed doors until evening, when they separate. In cases of sickness they do not use medicine, but one of the sect uses a needle and caustic. They have no sense of shame in the medical treatment of women. When any of them dies the priest sends some one to enshroud the body. He drives away all the kindred of the deceased, and when every one has gone out he closes the door and the enshrouding takes place. When that is finished two plaisters are used to cover the eyes of the corpse. It is then wrapped up in a red cloth bag which is sewn up round the neck and put into the coffin. It is said that they use this enshrouding process as a blind for scooping out the eyes of the dead, which are used in refining silver. When the converts are alive they receive four taels with this object in view. Therefore if when any Christian dies notice is not given to the priest, or if the friends of the deceased will not submit to the enshrouding process, they are said to rebel against the religion and a number of people go the house and insult them in a hundred ways, while they demand that the four taels shall be refunded with interest. Poor people are taken in this way and fall into the trap, while the officials and *literati* make a shameless profit out of them (that is, by receiving hush money) and say these methods of refining silver are all right. They pay court to them too, and speak of them as 'Western scholars.' Wherever a priest is resident he makes friends with the officials and they send presents to one another, and when there is any trouble the officials do as he wishes and protect him, therefore the sect grows. A book they have called the *K'eu T'oh* (口鐸) is of a most vicious character. It has pictures in it, which are beautifully drawn, but though it has well executed

representations of scenery and of a variety of things, all manner of abominations are found in it." [Here cannot be translated into English].

Then comes an account of the expulsion of Roman Catholic missionaries from China after the reign of Kang Hsi.

Quotations are introduced from the *Hai-kwoh-t'u-chi* 海國圖志 of Wei Yuen. This book was published in 1844 and the author is described by Mr. Wylie as a member of the Government who was bitterly opposed to foreign intercourse. It may perhaps be said that he represents the ideas of foreigners held by the Chinese officials of fifty years ago, and that it is not quite fair to quote him as if he had written yesterday, but since he is quoted with approval in the 文續編 which was published only three years ago, we may reply that the charges he makes are virtually charges of yesterday endorsed by present official opinion and sanction. These charges are, amongst other things, that the priests give their converts pills that befool them so entirely that they lose the power of resisting the foreign teaching, that men and women sleep together in the churches, and that the priests take out the eyes of the dead. Some of the charges are both indescribably nasty and indescribably silly, and cannot be quoted in English. There was one man, this writer says, who under false colours entered the sect with a view to testing the truth of what he had been told of their doings. He pretended not to eat for several days. The priest being informed [that he was dead], came holding a small knife in his hand. Just as he was about to take out his eyes, up jumped the man and seizing the knife and knocking down the priest he fled away. It is said, he continues, that from 100 catties of western lead 8 oz. (8 catties) of silver may be extracted, while the remaining 92 catties can be sold to pay the original cost, but this silver can only be got by using Chihamen's eyes; the eyes of foreigners are of no avail for this purpose. Wei Yuen is candid enough to say that his remarks do not apply to the doings of Roman Catholics in western lands, about which he has no information. He is only speaking of what goes on in China!

The editor proceeds to repeat a report he has heard that "the priests go through the length and breadth of every province [carrying their doctrine] and if they find any who will not believe they et them in the churches and secretly administer medicine

to them either in tea or in a cake, after which their nature is completely changed. "In the same way they cause women to become thoroughly licentious." But here again he becomes too vile in his language for us to follow him.

III.

In the *Chinese Recorder* for August there appears a reprint of a letter written by Dr. Griffith John to an English newspaper in 1883, giving an account of a journey he had made to Hunan in the previous year. In that letter Dr. John relates his own experience of a row got up at the city of Lungyang for the especial benefit of himself and his travelling companion, Mr. J. Archibald, of the Scotch Bible Society. The story is too long to quote here, suffice it to say that before Messrs. John and Archibald left Lungyang, the origin of the disturbance had been clearly and indisputably traced to the gentry and *literati* of the place acting in concert with the Lungyang magistrate. In connection with this testimony of a foreigner to the origin of an anti-missionary riot, I wish now to call special attention to the account of a similar riot, or rather of a very much worse one, given in the *Chinese Blue Books* by a Chinaman from a Chinese standpoint. The writer himself was behind the scenes and tells us just how everything was managed, who were the responsible persons, and what part each of them played in the game. This account will be found in the chapter on *The Expulsion of Christianity from Kiangsi and Hunan*, mentioned in my last paper. It appears to be extracted from the 中西紀事. That book is, I believe, published anonymously, but the author speaks of himself as an actor in some of the scenes he relates, and from what he says of the part he played, he must have been some sort of responsible official in Kiangsi. He tells us that in 1862 a French priest having asked for a passport to enable him to travel, went to Hunan. The Roman Catholics of Changsha and Hsiangtan hearing that he was coming were delighted, but the gentry when they heard of it were disgusted. They issued placards and held a consultation in regard to expelling the Roman Catholics. The placards stated that if anyone let houses to the priests the houses were to be burnt, if any one entered the sect, his name was to be struck off the register of his clan and his children were to be forbidden for ever to enter the examinations; all this was to be done principally because these priests use the name of preaching to cover their designs of

immorality and to establish orphanages for disgraceful purposes, which things the gentry graphically and fully described, sending the description on to Kiangsi. When Lo Ngan-t'ang, a foreign priest, came with his passport to the provincial capital of Nanchang, in Kiangsi, he was detained, and proceeded no further. The examinations were about to be held, and the leading gentry of Nanchang met together in full force in the Yuchang college. There were present Hia T'ing-kü (夏廷舉) an official in the Hanlin Yuan who was on furlough, Liu Yü-sin (劉于潯) an ex-provincial judge of the province of Kansu, and others. They took the Hunan placard and, raising a subscription, got a printer within twenty-four hours to print off some tens of thousands of copies, and with them they covered all the walls in the principal thoroughfares of the city both within and without. When the Frenchman heard of it he went to see the mandarins. It happened to be immediately after the accession of the Emperor T'ung Chi [and some changes were taking place amongst the high officials]. The new Governor Shên Pao-chêng (沈保楨) had not yet arrived. The Treasurer of the province, Li Pi-t'ang (李敝堂) who had just been promoted to this office and who had charge of the Governor's seals, refused to see the Frenchman, on the ground that the Governor himself would arrive in five days. When Shên Pao-chêng came, the priest went to him with his complaint, but he would not see him. Then he tried to pay the Governor a visit of ceremony but with no better success, whereat he was disappointed. It being the time of the examinations the Literary Chancellor was also in Nanchang. On the 17th day of the second month I—i.e., the writer of this narrative—was examining the essays of the candidates in the prefect's yamên when about midday the prefect Wang Hia-hien (王霞軒) and a servant of the district Magistrate's came in hastily to tell me that placards had been posted up everywhere saying that next day at noon the Roman Catholic church would be wrecked, and they said if the people were stirred up there would be a riot which would cause inconvenience not only to the responsible local mandarins, but to the minor officials also. I said "What is to be done?" They both replied, "Hia T'ing-kü the Hanlin can give what orders he likes in the college, and although he may not have planned [the riot] he can stop it." I replied "He has been drinking all day and now his door is shut and he will

not see visitors, but my son knows a good many of his servants, and I will tell him to go and see how things are." So I went back to my lodging and told my son to go at once on horseback to the place, but just as he was starting a messenger came from the French priest Lo, and another named Fang, saying that the orphanage had been looted. His master, he said, was safe and had gone away through the Fucheu gate of the city, but the girls from the orphanage were missing and it looked as if the trouble might extend to the church outside the city, and he wished to know if we would protect him. I at once went with the district magistrate Chang to the yamên of the prefect where there were two other district magistrates. We then went together to the Kwai-tsz-hang (the street in Nanchang where the church and orphanage of the mission were situated.) In addition to destroying the orphanage the mob had also torn down some tens of houses in which converts lived. It was already getting dark and the city gate had been shut, so we went back to inform the Governor of what had happened. When he heard it he sighed and said, "These foreigners have troubled me for a long time and now quite unexpectedly our people have taken the matter in hand and paid them out. Although we shall be blamed for mismanaging things, I will take the responsibility upon myself. Don't talk of searching for the offenders and apprehending them. I will report the facts [to Peking] and ask that I may be severely dealt with, and no enquiries will be made about the doings of the local mandarins and of their assistants." On the 18th of the month (*i.e.*, next day), the old Roman Catholic church outside the city was destroyed, and a boat in which the missionaries were was destroyed also; both by night. The French priests Lo and Fang got away in different directions. The former went to Fucheu and found shelter on the road at the house of a convert named Ch'ên. The people sought for him and could not find him but they destroyed several houses belonging to the Ch'ên family. The sequel to this disgraceful story, itself even yet more disgraceful, must be told in connection with the machinations of the *literati* to discredit the orphanage work of the missionaries and to cause even the very name of orphanages to excite the fury of the people as a red rag flourished about before the eyes of a bull is said to

infuriate to madness a beast that if left alone would be perfectly harmless. By the foregoing passage, translated from the 文續編 two things are made perfectly clear: firstly, that both in Hunan and also in Kiangsi it was not the common people but the "educated" classes who first manifested the anti-foreign feeling and desired to expel the foreigner with violence. What we call "the common people" the Chinese rulers always call "the stupid people." Now these "stupid people" if left alone are generally stupid enough to leave the foreigner alone, but when once their superiors take them in hand and see how much they can teach them in a short time about foreign men and foreign things, there seems to be no limit to their powers of receptivity. They can believe anything however absurd and however vile, and when worked up to a white heat by means of placards and handbills, and assured of plunder, with immunity from all danger of being punished for stealing, they are ready for anything. Secondly, it is clear that the most guilty persons in the transactions connected with the expulsion of Christians from Kiangsi in 1862, were not even the irresponsible "gentry," but the officials themselves.

The two most prominent figures in the meeting which assembled at Nanchang Fu in the chief college of the province to plot a riot, were an officer in the Hanlin Yuan, of whom I shall have more to tell by and by, and an ex-provincial judge. Either of these men could probably have stopped the whole proceedings; neither of them wished to do so, but did what they could to advance the cause of disorder. On the first appeal of the priest to the acting governor, the riot might have been averted, but the acting governor declined to move. Last, but not least, when the real Governor of the province came he might have stopped the trouble, but he would not. Even when it had begun and his subordinates were alarmed, and were really anxious to stop it he said in so many words, "Don't talk of searching for the offenders and apprehending them." Of course what he said was known all over the city in a few hours, and the rioters finished with a light heart on the second day the work of robbery that they had begun the day before. Dr. Edkins, in the abundance of his charity, spoke at the Shanghai Missionary Conference of Shên Pao-chêng as if he were a kind of model official. "Many foreigners," he says, "are inclined to doubt the sincerity of the high Chinese officials in their professions to aid the foreigner

when he becomes, while conducting his missionary work, an object of hatred to the people. On this point the documents prepared by Shên Pao-chêng, with a view to bring anti-Christian riots to an end, may be appealed to. In 1862 there was trouble in Kiangsi, a part of his jurisdiction. He writes the Regency in Peking in response to a decree that the Kiangsi matter should be speedily settled, "In my opinion the people must be brought to dismiss their suspicions, so that the French missionary in going again to Nanchang Fu may teach his religion in peace." The tone of this document is, I admit, excellent, except in one respect, viz., that the writer is *utterly insincere*. The date of the document is the 12th month of the 1st year of T'ung Chi. This riot took place in the 2nd month of the same year. Between the 2nd month and the 12th month Shên Pao-chêng had had good reason for coming to the opinion that "the people must be brought to dismiss their suspicions so that the French missionary in going again to Nanchang Fu might teach his religion in peace." He had offered to settle up all money claims with a lump sum of Tls. 5,000. He heard soon afterwards from Peking that the French Minister demanded Tls. 70,000! Finally he had to pay Tls. 20,000 and to be snubbed from Peking. It is a remarkable fact that about the very time when he was expressing these admirable sentiments as to the reception which the French missionary ought to receive next time he came to Nanchang, the French missionary did come, and the first thing that met his eye was a great flag flying near the landing place on which were written the characters 禁止法人入城, "The Frenchman is forbidden to enter the city." As soon as the missionary tried to anchor, his boat was pelted with brick-bats, and a *wei yuen* came off from the Governor himself telling him to clear out as quickly as he could! No doubt the issue of the whole business was to make Shên Pao-chêng a wiser and more cautious man, but when he wrote in the document that Dr. Edkins quotes with approval, unless the history published side by side with it lies, Shên Pao-chêng himself was saying what he knew to be entirely untrue. "This year," he writes pathetically, "in the second month, it was not that there were no officials to protect [the foreigner] or soldiers to put down [the rioters], but it was difficult to do anything against the anger of the multitude which rushed forward like a foaming tide. Who could check it?"

Certainly not a Governor who checked his subordinates instead of the rioters just when those subordinates proposed to exercise the authority they possessed and put down the riot! Dr. Edkins may have—and I say it in all good faith—some information concerning Shên Pao-chêng which I do not possess, and he may have reason to know that the history of the expulsion of Christianity from Kiangsi in 1862 as given in this Blue Book is untrustworthy, but with the documents before me, I should say that the influence of the Governor of Kiangsi was utterly anti-foreign and that the man himself was in 1862 wholly insincere. Wherever such men are in power to-day the foreigner has nothing to hope for in the way of protection from riots, or from the good will of the officials.

IV.

The Blue Books of China hold Christianity responsible for not a few things with which it has nothing to do. Mahometanism and various secret and proscribed sects are referred to this source, and some of the horrible evils charged against those sects are enlarged upon as if to throw additional discredit upon the Romanists. Some of the terminology which the Taipings used in common with Christians is quoted, and various absurd practices attributed to the Taipings are connected by the writer with similar practices said to prevail amongst the Roman Catholics. In 1842 or 1843 after the treaties with Foreign Powers had been concluded, trouble arose in some parts of the country about the disturbing of graves. Coffins of newly buried persons, it is said, were being opened and the brains of the dead were being taken away. The officials put out proclamations treating it as the work of the 'Tsing Lien secret society though there was no proof that it was so. After three years a case occurred in the province of Chêkiang which caused great excitement. A child was taken ill suddenly and died. In a short time a considerable number of other children in the neighbourhood died in the same way, but no one knew the cause of death. One day, by chance, the father of one of the children happened to notice that his child's grave had been disturbed. He examined it and found that the child's skull had been opened with a hatchet. On investigation it turned out that all the other children had been treated in the same way. Children at play were now inveigled by passers-by into eating things that contained poison. Their brains were taken out too. But the perpetrators of these crimes could not be discovered. It was evidently some devilry connected with

strange sects. "In my opinion," writes the editors of the Blue Books in his comments at the end of the chapter on the gradual demoralisation of China—"the depraved sects in making charms and mediums use certain parts of the human body and mix them with brains. . . . They begin by taking what they want from the dead, but if that does not do, they take it from the living ; therefore they stupify children and mutilate them while the life is still in their bodies." A little later he goes on to say "Of the foreign missionaries who have come to China since the repeal of the regulations prohibiting Christianity, the greater part are Frenchmen. Of late years the rumours of their taking out the brains of infants and mutilating girls have been scattered abroad, for in addition to building churches they have now opened orphanages." In his comments appended to the chapter on the expulsion of Christianity from Kiangsi and Hunan, he repeats these rumours and enlarges upon them in disgusting detail, and though he is careful to say that there is no evidence that they are true, but implies that he regards them as false, yet he shows in spite of what he says about their improbability, that he is thoroughly suspicious of the motives of the Roman Catholics in taking so many female children under their charge.

The sequel to the story which I translated in my last paper shows how the gentry and officials are willing to fan the flame of popular superstition in regard to the taking out of eyes and the murder of children, and with a few explanatory remarks, I will now give the sequel, continuing the translation, of the chapter on the Kiangsi riots. The second Roman Catholic church in Nanchang Fu having been destroyed by the mob on the 18th day of the 2nd month of the first year of the Emperor Tung Chi with the practical connivance of Shên Pao-chêng the Governor, the gentry and *literati* began to fear that they had rather overstepped the line of what was expedient, in exciting the people to the extent they had done. It was undeniable that the whole riot was due to the placards that they had issued. "But when they heard that the Governor in his report of the riot had not implicated either them or the local mandarins, it was suggested by the Hanlin Hia T'ing-kü that they should take some bones wrapped up in a parcel, and a copper tube, and some ointment mixed with blood, and carry them to the Governor and tell him that the bones had been dug up in the courtyard of the Roman Catholic church, that the tube was used

for taking out eyes, and that the ointment compounded with blood was a mixture of children's brains and something else (精). The Governor received their statement with a good deal of incredulity, but he deputed the prefect of Nanchang and the district magistrates to hold an inquest and to steam the bones (a Chinese practice which is said to show whether there are any cracks or bruises on bones, which might have been produced by violence). The bones, of which there were a good many, showed no signs of having been injured. The copper tube and the ointment had a foreign look about them, but there was nothing to show what they had been used for. The magistrates made their report accordingly on each article. They said that although the gentry had no certain evidence in support of their case, yet they themselves (the Magistrates) had [before the matter was officially brought before them] heard rumours about it. The bones they had examined and the case was perfectly clear, but they thought it would not be advisable to talk of anything save the copper tube and the ointment. These were evidently things used by foreigners, but there was nothing by which they could discern their origin. If the discovery got abroad among the people they feared it would create general consternation. Certainly there must be some account to be given of these articles, it was therefore their duty to return them to their superior, requesting that the whole case might be sent on to the Tsung-li Yamèn, in order that the French Minister might be interrogated about it, and that on the receipt of a reply from the Tsung-li Yamèn the minds of the gentry and the people of Kiangsi might be reassured and that feelings of good-will might be established between the Chinese and the foreigner. The Governor accordingly notified the Tsung-li Yamèn and asked for instructions. But there the matter was allowed to sleep."

Here we see the gentry and the mandarins acting a play before the people. It is true it was after all the mischief had been done, and the object of the farce was not to stir a mob up immediately to any fresh act of violence, but only to intensify the hatred of the people to the foreigner and to make it more impossible than ever for him to return. Have we not seen during the recent riots the same thing being done over again? The newspapers have reported cases of mandarins taking up the charges made by the people against the Roman Catholics and seriously investigating them to see whether or not there was any truth in the rumour that in such

and such a place bones, etc., etc., had been found on orphanage premises where a riot had been transacted. The officials may themselves in some instances have been inclined to believe these stories, but it is reasonable to suppose that in many more cases they have simply used the superstitions of the people in the same way that the gentry and magistrates at Nanchang Fu used them in 1862, viz., as a lever to set in operation the brute force of the rabble or as a means for keeping alive their anti-foreign feelings. The impression left by the Chinese narrative that I have translated above is quite clear ; the whole case was trumped up, and the mandarins saw through it perfectly but spoke in their report in a mysterious way about the bones, and recommended referring the case to Peking, either out of fear of offending the gentry or because they were themselves in thorough sympathy with the gentry. The monstrosities connected with orphanages have come to be a perfect nightmare with the Chinese people. I have before me as I write the testimony of an eye-witness to the appearance of one of the houses of the Wesleyan Mission in Wusueh after the late riot. The ceiling of the upper storey had been inspected by means of a ladder. On the ground floor the boards of one of the rooms had been fired and a large aperture made. Below the ground floor the ventilators outside had been torn open as though search had been made for missing infants, and the lath and plaster walls in all rooms where they were to be found had been pierced. The mission safe had baffled the ingenuity of the rioters but they had done their best to open it, for it at once suggested itself to their minds that probably eyes would be found inside it. One of the outer plates of the safe was broken and the handle was torn off. Finally it was carried to the yamên and sealed by the magistrate, who kept it till it could be sent to Hankow where the Consul wisely insisted on a mandarin being present when it was opened. Now it must be remembered that in Wusueh there was not, and never had been, any orphanage in connection with the Wesleyan Mission, although the Roman Catholics have been in the habit of forwarding babies from Wusueh to their orphanage in Kiukiang. Whence comes this widespread belief of the Chinese common people in the scooping out of eyes, the employment of brains as medicine, the mutilation of children for vile purposes ? It

filters down from the *literati* to the officials and to the lower classes, and the statements contained in the 皇朝經世文續編 are exactly calculated to keep the belief alive in the minds of those members of the upper classes who are capable of believing them. The account given in these books of the charges against the Roman Catholic orphanages is the thing that would impress the minds of such people, for they are given at length and with a minuteness of detail which makes many of them untranslatable on account of their filthiness. The considerations urged on the other side would carry no conviction to any one who needed to be convinced that the charges were false. The editor gives an account of a conversation he had with a priest as to the presence of girls in considerable numbers in the orphanages while there were few if any boys. "The priest had no answer to give," he says. "He evaded my enquiries or made up excuses that were palpably false." He gives his readers the impression that there was some underhand work going on which the priest would fain conceal, by which a far larger number of girls were being taken in than could possibly be disposed of as the Catholics profess to dispose of them, viz., by marriage to Christians.

I have attempted in these papers to give some idea of the contents of certain chapters in the collection of Blue Books which I have been criticising. My account of course only deals with one side of this collection, but that side is a very important side. So long as the collection is allowed to circulate in its present form it must do infinite mischief. At the same time it would require a very careful and thorough examination to say what parts of it ought to be suppressed. A demand for the suppression of any part of it would at once raise a very difficult question, viz., What about the parts that remain? I have come across many passages that I regard as being very objectionable, but if they stood by themselves I do not think any one would have a right to require that they should be suppressed. If however a demand is made that certain parts of the work should be expunged on account of their being false and injurious, the natural inference in the Chinese mind would be that the parts which are not objected to are not regarded as objectionable. It is not the duty of Christian Governments to require that every assault on the Christian faith should be forbidden, but in my opinion Christian Governments would put

themselves into a very false position if, while requiring that some of the statements these books contain should be suppressed, they left the Chinese with the impression that they regard other statements which are highly dishonouring to Christ as being unimportant. Once more, it would not be right to demand that the Chinese should never criticise unfavourably the arrogance and high-handed dealings of certain foreign missionaries which they have sometimes had good reason to complain of. At the same time it would not be an easy task for any Government, while requiring that false and libellous statements should be withdrawn, to say of certain other strong denunciations of certain individuals—"These may be allowed to remain." I trust that some solution of the difficulties now suggested may be found which may result in the re-editing of this—in many respects valuable—collection of books in such a form that it will be unobjectionable to any right minded person.

F.

September 1891.

V.

When, five months ago, the present anti-foreign disturbances broke out, the public, both in China and at home, seized upon Mr. Drummond's explanation of them as a most probable one. It did not appear at all unlikely that one of the secret societies, with which China is known to be honeycombed, and which, as we learn from history, have stirred up rebellions in the past, should be endeavouring, by embroiling the Government with Foreign Powers, to make for itself an opportunity to stir up another just now. In spite, however, of the wide acceptance which this theory has met with, and its practical adoption by the Chinese Government and its apologists, it is worth while to enquire if some other explanation would not better fit the facts.

It may be said that previous to the Wuhu riot there was no word of any dissatisfaction with the Government, in any quarter. The central power appeared to be better able then to carry out its will everywhere, than at any other time during the present century; and was engaged in nothing which was likely to make it unpopular. The provincial authorities were trusty, the *literati* loyal, and "the stupid people" submissive as usual. There was

not even a cloud the size of a man's hand to betoken the approach of a great rebellion. Yet the rebellion theory was accepted although unforeshadowed, and is still retained although unsupported by proof. With the exception of "the man behind the temple," no rebel has been seen by a foreigner as yet, nor have any who have confessed to treasonable designs been seized by the native authorities, as could hardly have failed to have been the case were a genuine rising on foot. Such rioters as foreigners have recognised have not been rebels, but were, and still are, the Emperor's most loyal subjects and servants,—soldiers and yamên men. No genuine act of hostility against the Government, as such, can be alleged against them; foreigners alone have suffered at their hands. Some proof that the rebellion theory is the true one there may be, but it has still to be brought forward. Those who are actually on the scene of the disturbances do not endorse it, as an examination of the correspondence columns of the newspapers will show.

But further, the acceptance of this theory necessitates our believing a number of other things which seem absolutely incredible. We must hold that the would-be rebels are so lacking in common sense as to suppose that, in addition to defying the dragon throne, they can afford to make enemies of, and array against themselves, the whole military world besides. Were there really two parties in China about to engage in mortal strife, one or other of them would certainly court an alliance with foreigners. At present both are equally hostile to us—a most remarkable, and, on this theory, unaccountable fact. We must also believe that the Chinese Government is dealing with its deadly enemies in a way in which no Government ever before dealt with such. It cannot see them till they are actually pointed out. Their very names and addresses must be put into its hands, or it will fail to find them. When caught it will not punish them, unless compelled; and is always ready to encourage those who help, and to obstruct those who hinder them. In short, we must hold that the Government has gone mad; and besides that it has been struck with a strange paralysis. Officers can no longer control their soldiers, nor Viceroy and Governors their officers, nor the Emperor any one in connection with this rebellion business. As regards all other matters the engine of State works as usual; on this one point only is it helpless. All which are things incredible.

Although so little can be urged in support of this theory, it must be said in its favour that it is a most convenient one for the Chinese officials and their friends. It puts the odium of the riots upon parties with whom they, of course, have no sympathy. It relieves them from the responsibility of any longer protecting foreigners—how can individual mandarins be expected to cope with a rebellion? It absolves them from all fear of punishment when riots occur; who would be so unreasonable as to insist on punishing men for what they could not help? Best of all, it furnishes a splendid argument why Foreign Powers should stand quietly aside, and allow events to take their course, since by interfering they would necessarily precipitate so great a calamity. Amongst the maxims revered by the people of this country are some which tell us that if “we would know the affairs of the Empire, we must read the works of the ancients” and “if we would understand the present we must study the past.” These precepts hold good anywhere, but particularly in China; whose motto might well be *semper idem*. Referring then to the pages of the ancients, we find that there was a time when the Chinese welcomed intercourse with foreigners, but it was before the present dynasty obtained possession of the throne. The Manchu rulers, themselves foreigners, have constantly and consistently endeavoured to exclude all other outer kingdom men, and, before they were compelled by the strong arm to act otherwise, spared no pains to make life a burden to all such as came within their reach. In thus acting the *literati*, the only body in the empire whose opinion is of any weight, were entirely at one with them. We find that troubles, like to those we have recently had, were by no means rare in the experience of the foreigners of a hundred years ago. It would be easy to parallel all that has happened with similar events in the history of the old Canton factory. It is now one hundred and forty years since we find bitter complaint being made that “injurious *affiches* were annually put up by the Government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace.” These “ancients” experienced the same brutal violence, burnings and murderings, as we are now becoming acquainted with. The only difference was that they knew, beyond all doubt, that the Government officials were at the bottom of it all, while we are not yet absolutely sure, but strongly suspect it.

We are told that the Government has greatly changed since those days. Indeed, with their palaces in flames and their capital in the hands of the enemy it was imperative that they should turn over a new leaf, but it was still the same old book. Convinced against their will, of the advantages of foreign intercourse, they were still of the same opinion. The change then made was not a change of policy, but only of the method of carrying it out. If this was not so, why have they never granted us a single privilege which was not extorted from them? Why have they constantly endeavoured, and generally contrived, to stop every movement which promised to extend foreign influence? When, in 1874, Britain, bent on opening up a trade route through Burma into China, despatched the Browne mission, they stopped it with the dead body of poor Margary. When, after the conquest of Burma, the idea was revived, they persuaded the British Government to leave it to them—they would promote the trade. In doing so they kept the Ichang steamer running for a whole winter with cargo destined for the western frontier, but it consisted of arms and ammunition of all kinds, and machinery for making such. They have fortified the frontier, and are now in a better position to stop missions from coming that way than ever before. When France got into difficulties with Annam, China promptly despatched several Hunan regiments to fight them under the character of Black Flags. It took France some time to find out who the enemy really was, and perhaps she was never absolutely certain, but that Imperial soldiers acted as Black Flags the writer has been assured by the men themselves. So too with the opening of Tibet to foreign trade. While the Indian Government, fooled by Peking, was busy getting the Macaulay mission ready, the Szechuan Viceroy was sending forward soldiers to keep it out of the country. Kept out it was, and as the result of no end of diplomatics Tibet is now being opened by means of a market in Darjeeling! Yet China is paramount in Tibet, as the *Peking Gazette* frequently shows. Another case, namely, how the Upper Yangtze was *not* opened to steam navigation, need not be recounted. These things seem to show the survival of the old exclusion spirit.

Further it is remarkable that in a country where some one can always be held accountable for every kind of untoward events, including floods, droughts, plagues and earthquakes, an exception is made with regard to anti-foreign riots. For these the accountable

parties can never be found, or if found must not be punished. This striking feature of the late riots is by no means a new one, as Canton and Chinkiang showed. For the notorious outbreak at Chungking no one was punished, save an unfortunate Romanist found guilty of the crime of too vigorously defending his house from the mob. He was beheaded. In this an old unfriendly practice seems still persevered in.

If we suppose then, that the feeling of the governing classes in China with respect to foreigners has not changed, but that as it was in the beginning of our intercourse it is still, and that it is highly agreeable to the minds of those in authority to have foreigners excluded, thwarted, insulted and generally tormented if it can be safely done—granting this, it is easy to construct a theory which will fit every feature of the recent outrages as accurately as a key does the complex wards of a lock. For a long series of years the Chinese officials have rather got the best of it in all their disputes with Foreign Powers, and their confidence in their own ability to manage them is now no doubt considerable. A generation has passed since they felt the effect of foreign war, and they have lost their former healthful fear of it. If we suppose then that, thus emboldened, the ruling powers, imperial and provincial alike, are simply allowing it to be ascertained how far in the direction of making China too hot for foreigners to live in it is safe to go, we have a theory which fits exactly. For example, when the Chinese Minister in London explained that it would not do to punish more rioters lest it should encourage the people to attempt further outrages, his real fear must have been lest it should discourage them. When it was found that this piece of inverted reasoning was gravely accepted, he was instructed to complain of Sir John's pertinacity, and the German Minister's officiousness—in insisting that a rebellion should be put down! For this he was fittingly rebuked, but both pieces of impudence were alike in the interests of the rioters. This theory readily explains why such difficulty was experienced in obtaining the edict, why it was sent forward by the slowest means (by courier, not by telegraph), and why it has been found of no value. It makes it clear why rioters cannot be caught—it is reported that at Ichang they have seized just one,—how it is so hard to get them punished, and how all

proclamations against them are so ineffective. Recently, two proclamations appeared side by side, one with the seal of a minor official forbidding the slaughter of animals, the other, with the name and stamp of the greatest man in the province, interdicting the circulation of a certain kind of literature. The butchers immediately obeyed the one, and all meat disappeared from the market, but the other was entirely disregarded by the literature men. This theory also explains how it comes about that the rebels regard themselves as by far the most loyal men in the empire. The disbanded soldiers and local roughs are merely tools; but the Hunan officials and gentry, with their sympathisers, are something more, and these believe most firmly that they are engaged in carrying out the Imperial will. Everything seems to prove that this theory is the correct one, and the most that can be urged against it is that the Government is not likely to play so dangerous a game. But the Chinese are ever ready to run enormous risks if the inducement be thought adequate. That they should play "double or quits" with the matter of foreign influence in their country need surprise no one who knows them.

If this theory be correct, it follows that nothing can be gained by negotiating at Peking. Mere pretended compliances with foreign demands are worse than useless. Talk about getting the northern army to coerce the Hunanese may be given up. Could it be so used, which is impossible, it would then be the rebel. Unless the Foreign Powers take action to stop them, the present disturbances will go on, till the foreign element in China is reduced to a few communities, cramped up in their concessions as they were in the old factory days. Such is the case at Hankow at present, while every mission station between that port and Chungking has been abandoned. If the Powers take action they may count on opposition. It would cost any Chinese general or admiral his head to surrender his charge without orders; and orders to that effect he never will get. The presence of the northern fleet in the Yangtze may mean something very different from protecting foreigners. On the other hand the Powers may dismiss the rebellion nightmare; no action of theirs will immediately bring about any such calamity. Is it a great rebellion? No. Will it be war? Yes. It is war, of the usual masked kind

which the Chinaman loves, declared by them five months ago ; the only question about it is how long will it be before the other side is compelled to strike back.

A.

Shanghai, 10th October.

VI.

[A NANKING CORRESPONDENT.]

A broadsheet, roughly printed on thin paper, of which the following is a close translation, is being freely circulated among the thousands of students at Nanking. On the top is a picture of a Christian Catholic church, with the motto, "No distinction between male and female," and there are four other illustrations, showing foreigners engaged in performing the horrible acts detailed in the text. This text is, we admit, almost too filthy to print : but we think it desirable that the foreign public should know clearly what the literature is, by which the Chinese people are being incited to the outrages that have been committed this year :—

The Roman Catholic religion had its origin from Jesus, and is practised by all the Western countries, and taught by them to others ; it exhorts men to virtue. The founder was nailed by wicked men on a cross, and cut to death. His disciples then scattered about the world to disseminate the doctrine. The Principal is called the Fah Wang Fu (法王父) [His Holiness the Pope]. Sodomy without shame is called "a public meeting," or "a benevolent society." When they marry they use no go-between, and make no distinctions between old and young. Any man and woman who like may come together, only must first do obeisance to the bishop, and pray to Shangti. The bride must invariably first sleep with the spiritual teacher, who takes the first fruits of her virginity. This custom is called (聖檢羅福) *Sheng-yü-lo-fuh*(?) Two wives may not be taken, they say, because Shangti created one man and one woman at first. In these countries therefore concubinage is not practised, but no unchastity in other directions is forbidden. When a wife dies another may be had. When a father dies, his son may marry the mother who bore him. When a son dies, his father may marry the son's wife ; and even his own daughter. Brothers, uncles, and nieces may intermarry promiscuously. Brothers and sisters of same parents also marry together.

Chang Show-ts'ai was a boat-tracker on the Hun Ho. A man named Liu informed him that by kidnapping little children and scooping out their hearts and eyes he could earn fifty taels a set.

A foreign devil at Canton went dropping poison down the wells at night. Every one fell ill of a strange disease, which could only be cured by foreign doctors. Untold numbers died. At last the Prefect found it out, arrested over thirty people, and put them all to death.

When these [foreign] devils open a chapel, they begin with their female converts by administering a pill. When they have swallowed it, they are beguiled, and allow themselves to be defiled. Then after the priest has outraged them, he recites an incantation. The *placenta* then is easily drawn out, and is chopped up to make an ingredient for their hocussing drugs.

At Tientsin they used constantly to beguile and entice away young children in order to scoop out their eyes and hearts. When the people discovered it, they tore down their tall foreign houses, and found heaped up inside bodies of kidnapped children, boys and girls.

All these facts should make us careful not to incur similar dangers. We should unite hands and hearts to keep out the evil before it is upon us.

(At the side). His Excellency the Commander-in-chief for the Canton province.

I.

DR. JOHN'S CHINESE OFFICIAL SINCERITY.

SIR,—I have just been reading the Blue Book containing the "Correspondence respecting Anti-Foreign Riots in China." In a telegraphic despatch from Sir John Walsham to Lord Salisbury, dated June 21st, we have a revelation of a most important fact. He wired:—"An Imperial Edict was, however, published on the 13th inst., in which the attacks on missionaries were strongly condemned, and the high authorities called upon to protect all foreigners, and to punish those who incite the people against them with the utmost severity. *This Edict, and its publication in the Gazette was obtained by us with great difficulty.*" The words in italics (the italics are mine speak) volumes. The Edict is the most satisfactory document of the kind that has ever been issued from

Peking. I have read it again and again, and have been delighted with it. I have placed it in the hands of native scholars, and have asked them to point out anything in the wording of it which might be construed as indicating on the part of the Government doubleness of heart. None have succeeded in finding a flaw in it. All seem satisfied that we have in this document a genuine expression of the Imperial mind on matters relating to the foreigner, be he merchant or missionary. I need not add that the Edict has brought much joy to the hearts of many among the Christian converts residing here and elsewhere.

We now learn, however, that this important document "was obtained with great difficulty." It is perfectly clear that the Chinese Government would never have taken the initiative, and that the Edict would never have been issued if the Government had been allowed to act according to its own free choice. This is a fact of great significance, and will probably account, in a measure at least, for the sad state of things which still exists in this valley. The provincial officials can tell what their August Master speaks in his secret chamber, and have no difficulty in attaching the right value to these paper-decrees issued from Peking.

The Viceroy of these two provinces issued a Proclamation immediately after the Wusueh riot. It is a valuable document; and it did much good at the time in quieting the people. I have read it once and again, and have admired its outspoken condemnation of the evil, and the severity of its threats. The case of the Christian converts is fairly stated, and no missionary could desire anything better than to see the principles stated in this document acted upon. Some of us were simple enough to suppose that the Emperor's Edict and the Viceroy's Proclamation would restore peace to the province of Hupeh, and inaugurate a new era in our relation with the people. In this we have been sadly disappointed. The Ichang riot upset all our calculations, and we have been feeling ever since as if we were sitting on the edge of a volcano. The officials cannot depend on the soldiers, and we know that we can depend upon neither. We have been passing through times of real danger, and we owe our preservation to the presence of the foreign gunboats. Had these been absent there would have been in all probability an outbreak in Wuchang and Hankow. This is the opinion of the natives, and most of us are inclined to agree with them. We are still dependent upon this foreign force. Were it

taken away, we should have an outbreak within a week. At least, such is the opinion of many, and I share in it. The Ichang riot has given us a deeper insight into the present state of things than we had before. There the Emperor's Edict and the Viceroy's Proclamation had been posted up for weeks. Brigadier-General Lo was there with his two or three hundred men, a force sufficiently strong to quell any attempt to create a disturbance at Ichang. But in the face of the Edict and the Proclamation, one of the most serious of the riots broke out there; and, in the very presence of Lo and other officials, the work of destruction was carried on with unprecedented despatch and thoroughness.

Now, I will mention another fact which has just come under my notice. One of our native evangelists left us on Monday last for Huangpi, a city distant from Hankow only twenty or thirty miles. He returned last night, and came to see me early this morning. He has brought back with him two printed copies of one of the Hunan publications, which is now being printed and actively circulated in the city of Huangpi through the medium of the pawn-shops. There are seven of these shops in the city, all of which, with *one* exception, are busily engaged in this diabolical work. They are large and wealthy establishments, and thousands of people frequent them every week. The book is given away gratuitously, so the circulation must be immense. These two copies were given to one of our converts at two of these shops. At one of the shops he was told that their old supply was used up, but that they would have a new supply soon. At another of the shops he found them busily engaged in cutting new blocks. The whole thing is done publicly, and no attempt at concealment is made. At the beginning of last year one of our converts in Hunan sent me a printed copy of this book, so there can be no doubt as to its origin. It is written in fluent mandarin, and is entitled, *Death to the Devils' Religion* (鬼教該死). Of all the Hunan publications, I do not know one more violent, more abusive, more filthy, or more inflammatory than this. It finishes up with a song, which is committed to memory by the children of Huangpi, and sung in the streets. I felt inclined for a moment to give you a translation of this song. But it is impossible; it is too dirty and vile for your columns. You could not print it. I may, however, translate the word of exhortation with which the book closes: "Let fathers and the old people teach the children to sing this

song, and thus accumulate merit and secure bliss. Let the little boys learn to sing this song, and thus remove calamity and escape danger. Why fear because the demons are many? We are firmly resolved to exterminate them utterly." Our native evangelist in the city of Huangpi says that the publication and distribution of this book commenced immediately after the Ichang riot. Previously nothing of the kind could be found in that city. Let it be borne in mind that the Emperor's Edict and the Viceroy's Proclamation are posted up there as elsewhere, and that the local magistrate has issued his Proclamation also, calling attention to both, and threatening to punish severely any who may be found inciting the people against foreigners, whether by means of anonymous publications or in any other way. The magistrate of Huangpi knows perfectly well what these pawn-shops are doing, and yet he allows the thing to go on without lifting a finger or uttering a word.

What shall we say to this state of things in China? Are the Chinese officials wholly insincere? One hesitates to answer in the affirmative. And yet how is it possible to do otherwise? The principal instigators of the anti-European riots have not been arrested yet. Not one of the publishers or disseminators of the anti-Christian placards and pamphlets has been punished. What is done in the city of Huangpi is doubtless done in many other cities, and the authorities, in spite of Imperial Edicts and Viceregal Proclamations, love to have it so. The names and persons of the rioters and other offenders are well-known to the Chinese lower authorities, and if the lower authorities were convinced that the arrest of the criminals would be pleasing to their official chiefs, the criminals would long ago have been arrested and punished. Does it not look as if the Edict and Proclamations issued, are issued merely to amuse the foreigners, and that the real instructions given to the lower officials are "don't be too zealous?" Is it not probable that the highest officials in the country are encouraging the anti-Foreign demonstrations in order to frighten the Foreign Powers from making disagreeable demands? Probably if one could read the wish of the highest authorities, provincial and central, it would be that the people should be sufficiently hostile to cause the barbarians to be very uncomfortable and apprehensive, but should refrain from killing Consuls and too many other foreigners, for fear of enraging Western nations. I believe in my deepest heart

that the whole question rests with the officials themselves. They have it in their power to protect us. It is not a matter of power but of will. Let them show the people that they mean to protect the foreigners, and these riots will come to a speedy end. But how are the officials to be brought to act honestly in this matter? If it were possible to so change their hearts, as to make them *feel* truly friendly towards us, they would find it a very simple matter so to act. But that change, I fear, is a long way off; and this being the case there is only one thing possible in the circumstances. The Chinese Government must be told plainly that the present state of things shall not continue. The higher Chinese authorities must be made to feel that they are playing a dangerous game; that the perilous hostility they are encouraging, or at all events not discouraging, may get beyond their control; and that results most disastrous to China may ensue. My own impression is that if matters do not mend, and mend speedily, war between the Foreign Powers and China will become inevitable. Things cannot go on for long as they have been going on of late. If war is to be averted, a stop must be put to the suicidal game which the Chinese high officials are now playing; but in order to bring this game to an end, the Foreign Powers must speak out plainly, firmly, and with united voice. My long and heartfelt interest in China's welfare, and earnest desire that the cloud which now darkens her sky may melt away in peace, will, I trust, justify me in troubling you with this letter.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 24th September.

II.

DR. JOHN ON THE CAUSES OF THE RIOTS.

SIR,—Your article of the 3rd instant deals with the cause or causes of the recent outbreaks in the Yangtze valley. It is not my intention to discuss any one of the theories propounded by others. There is probably a certain amount of truth in them all. I should like to state in a few words my own opinion on the subject. Having lived in this valley for thirty years, and having travelled extensively in Hupeh, Hunan, and Kiangsi, my opinion may be taken as based upon observation as well as reflection. Cobweb theories, however finely woven, are of no use at this time.

We have to deal with stern facts, and our true policy is to face them manfully, and to base our action on a full recognition of their existence and potency.

My opinion may be expressed in a few words. It must be admitted that the foreigners have forced themselves upon the Chinese. We are here, not because they have invited us to come or wish us to remain. We have, it is true, our treaty rights; but every one of them has been obtained at the point of the bayonet. Our presence in Peking, our presence at the coast ports, our presence in the interior, our presence in the valley of the Yangtze, our autocratic settlements, our extra-territorial jurisdiction—all these things are now, and have been from the beginning, an abomination to the Chinese Government. The governing classes have never changed in their hatred of the foreign element, or in their desire to banish it from the land. They would if they could bring things back to their pristine state, and confine both us and our commerce to one spot.

The idea of casting out the foreigner, sooner or later, has been tenaciously held and fondly cherished by the officials and scholars all these fifty years. The idea may have been allowed to sleep off and on; but they have never relinquished it, and of late they have been greatly moved by it. The opening of Chungking and the attempt to introduce steam navigation on the Upper Yangtze may have had something to do with putting a new life into it. The question before them for some time seems to have been how to realise the idea; and the plan which has commended itself to their judgment appears to be this: "Let all the missionaries, in the first instance, be frightened back into the open ports; if that succeeds, let an effort be made to drive all the foreigners, whether merchants or missionaries, to the coast ports." This is intended for the immediate future. It does not exhaust the scheme.

Now this idea, which I father on the governing classes, needed a congenial home in order to take root and develop, and that home it has found in Hunan. In Hunan the hatred of the foreigner is a provincial characteristic. The gentry and scholars of Hunan look upon their province as the palladium of the Empire, and the ultimate expulsion of the hated barbarian has never ceased to be a fixed article in their creed. It is only in a province such as Hunan is, and in the midst of conditions such as Hunan

presents, that the idea could strike so deep a root and attain to so vigorous and gigantic a growth. The Hunan scholars have been engaged for many years in propagating their anti-foreign creed, with the view of preparing the minds of the people for the decisive moment. Believing that the time for action was at hand, they made, at the beginning of last year, a special effort to poison the minds of the people of this valley. The Hunan publications were widely scattered up and down this river. The poison found its way into the homes of all classes of society, and was greedily devoured by all conditions of people. The way having been thus prepared, and the propitious hour having arrived, the blow was struck, and the work of destruction began. There was no accident about it. The whole thing was deliberately planned, and carried on with a definite purpose. Behind the people were the Hunan emissaries, and behind the Hunan emissaries stood the real power, which worked in both and through both.

This is my opinion. The opinion may be wrong, but it has been formed slowly, deliberately, and calmly. This theory alone will account for the fact that the anti-foreign crusade has been carried on in Hunan for so many years, and that with the knowledge, the connivance, and active co-operation of the provincial officials. This alone will account for the fact that the Imperial "*Edict, and its publication in the Gazette, was obtained with great difficulty*," and that the Ichang riot followed its promulgation so swiftly. This alone will account for the conduct of the Brigadier-General at Ichang, the Erhfu at Wusueh, the Taotai at Wuhu, and other high officials at other places. This alone will account for the inactivity of the officials almost everywhere till the work of destruction is actually done, and their slowness to punish when all is over. This alone will account for the fact that the principal instigators of the riots have not been arrested yet, and that not one of the publishers or disseminators of the anti-foreign placards and pamphlets has been punished.

The Ko-lao Hui theory has not taken hold of my mind. We have not been made to feel the existence or the power of the sect in these parts. That it exists I know, and that its members are numerous I know. That one of its aims is the expulsion of the present dynasty, I am quite ready to believe. Secret societies with this aim in view have troubled the Great Tsing dynasty from its foundation till now. Twenty years ago the Kwan-yin sect was

dominant in these parts, and I know that, though ostensibly a religious sect, its grand aim was the expulsion of the Manchu dynasty and the restoration of the Ming. The Ko-lao is to the front now; but I find it difficult to attach much importance to it, and have no expectation of seeing the sect becoming a dynasty. Members of the sect have been active of late, and they may have had something to do with striking the match which has set this valley in a blaze. But what about the combustibles which they found everywhere so near at hand and so ready to take fire? Without the preparation which had gone before, what serious mischief could they have perpetrated in these parts? Let it never be forgotten that this preparation had been going on for years under the very eyes of the officials, and that nothing was done by them to stop it. At the beginning of last year, the attention of the Viceroy of Hupeh and Hunan was called to the broadcast circulation of the Hunan publications in the Yangtze valley, but nothing was done to put an end to it. If the Viceroy of Hukuang and the Governor of Hunan had taken active measures last year to suppress this poisonous literature in both provinces, it is highly probable that none of these riots would have occurred this year. Why did they not do so?

By this time no doubt many among the officials have been brought to see that a great blunder has been committed. They must see now clearly that the recent attempt to realise the official idea has only involved them in new troubles. They probably imagined that, by making the movement appear to be an anti-missionary movement, and the riots an uprising of the people against the missionaries, the Foreign Powers might be bamboozled, and won over to their side. This was the aim of *Defensio Populi*; and we all know now who the author of that remarkable production is and where he abides. In this, however, they have failed signally, and they cannot but know it. They would probably be glad to undo the work of the last five months, and they may set themselves to the task of preventing further mischief, at least for the present. But they will not readily relinquish their anti-foreign idea; and it is more than probable that the anti-foreign spirit evoked by it in Hunan, and more or less throughout the land, will prove itself stronger than they.

I am not now discussing the merits or demerits, the reasonableness or unreasonableness, of the Chinese position in regard to

foreign intercourse. Looking at things from their standpoint, it must be admitted that the Chinese have a good deal to say for themselves. But the European standpoint is just the opposite of theirs, and the one or the other must yield. The real question which the Foreign Powers have to consider at the present time is this ; shall we maintain our present position in China, or shall we bow to the Chinese idea and clear out ? "China exclusively for the Chinese." That is the idea—the official idea, the realisation of which is the grand aim of the present anti-foreign movement. It is not an anti-missionary movement ; neither is it a sudden uprising of the masses of the Chinese people against all foreigners. It is anti-missionary ; but it is anti-missionary because it is first and above all anti-foreign. The people are moved, but they have not been moved by an internal impulse. The whole movement, in my opinion, is to be traced to a Government policy, and it is with the Government and its policy the Great Powers are called upon now to deal.

There is one lesson which the Chinese Government ought to be taught at once, namely, that however fondly they may cherish their idea, they must not and shall not use the methods which they have been using recently in their attempts to realise it. They must be made to see and feel that all this is barbarism pure and simple. China wishes civilised nations to look upon her as a member of the family, and to grant her the privileges of international law. It is high time that China should be told that by these inhuman and savage deeds she is showing herself to be unworthy of a place among the civilised Governments, and forfeiting every right of appeal to the law which regulates civilised nations in their mutual intercourse. If she would profit by this law she must be bound by it.

Believing that the cure of this disease depends much on a careful and correct diagnosis, I think it well that all who have an opinion to give should give it at this time. My opinion on the situation may be regarded as of little value, but such as it is I send it on to you. Our one desire is that war may be averted, that the present difficulty may be amicably settled, and that our future relations with China may be more cordial.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 10th October.

III.

DR. JOHN ON THE DISSEMINATION OF
ANTI-FOREIGN LITERATURE.

SIR,—Your issue of 29th September contains a letter from me, calling attention to the dissemination in Huangpi of one of the Hunan publications called 鬼教該死, "Death to the Devils' Religion." Our energetic Consul, Mr. Gardner, brought the case at once before the notice of the Viceroy, and the Viceroy sent a deputy to Huangpi to enquire into the matter. A search was made by the Huangpi magistrate, and the state of things was found to be pretty much as I have already described it. The managers of the six pawnshops were taken to the yamên, where they are still kept in custody. The blocks were seized, and one was sent to the Viceroy for his inspection. I am informed to-day that two of the block-cutters have been arrested, and that the third, who has gone to another city, is being searched for. On the 5th inst. I was honoured with a visit from one of the gentry of Huangpi, whose acquaintance I made some months since. He wears a blue button (purchased), and is highly respected by his neighbours. He came to see me on behalf of the managers of the pawnshops, and especially on behalf of the five shops owned by natives of Huangpi. He wanted to show me that these five are comparatively blameless, having got their supply of books from the sixth, which is owned by a native of the Anhui province. He begged that I would write to the Viceroy, and intercede on behalf of his friends. I told him that I had no influence whatever with the Viceroy, and that any interference on my part would be useless. This, however, he seemed slow to believe. I tried to point out to him the wickedness of his friends; but he would have it that they were ignorant of the contents of the book, and actually did not know what they were doing. After some further conversation he handed me a bit of paper, and asked me to read it. I did so, and found it to be a copy of the depositions of the managers of the pawnshops, taken down by the magistrate himself at his office. It is an interesting document, well worth translating. I can only give an extract. The magistrate writes that, having carefully examined the parties concerned, he presents the following reliable statements :—

Huang Sin-cheng deposed :—"I am 76 years old, and a native of Anhui province. I have been assisting at the Heu Seng pawn-shop for more than twenty years. Hitherto I have been a peaceable man, contented with my lot, law-abiding, and quite free from disorderly conduct. Formerly there was in the shop an employé, named Feng Teh-tsüen, a native of Yunghien in Hunan. In the 5th month of this year, Feng went home to see his parents. In the beginning of the 6th month he returned, bringing with him copies of this book. He said it was issued by a Benevolent Hall (善堂) in Ch'angsha. I, however, paid no attention to what he said. In the middle of the 7th month, Feng Teh-tsüen was taken ill and died. When searching his baggage, I found in his box a number of blocks, and on further examination discovered them to be the blocks of this book. Besides the blocks, there were found in his box twenty or thirty copies of the book itself. Being spoken of as a good book, I willingly kept these copies, and placed them on the book-stand in my private room. I had no time, however, to read the book. About the end of the 7th month and the beginning of the 8th month, friends from the other pawnshops, at various times, visited me. I certainly did not present them with copies of the book ; but they, seeing the books on the book-stand, each took a copy. This is the truth of the matter. I certainly have not been disseminating the book, or giving it away to be read. Neither is it a book cut or printed by me. I pray for mercy."

The managers of the other five shops deposed :—"We are all natives of Huangpi. Hitherto we have been peaceable men and contented with our lot. We have never been guilty of disorderly conduct, or of meddling in other people's matters. About the end of the 7th month of this year and the beginning of the 8th month, we, at various times, called at the Heu Seng pawn-shop, where Huang Sin-cheng resides. Whilst sitting there, we saw on his book-stand twenty or thirty copies of a certain book. We asked Huang Sin-cheng what book it was. He told us it was a good book (善書) which the deceased Feng Teh-tsüen had brought with him from Hunan ; that they were found in his box after his death ; and that for convenience sake he had placed them on the stand. Seeing they were good books, we, at various times, took copies, some two copies and some three copies apiece, and brought them

home to read. It has happened that personal friends, visiting the shops, have themselves taken copies away. But surely there has been no such thing as disseminating the book by us, or giving it away to be read. Let enquiries be made, and the truth will be ascertained. This is a true declaration. We pray for mercy."

Such is the first statement sent by the Huangpi magistrate to the Viceroy. It would appear that the Viceroy is not satisfied with it, for Mr. Gardner has not received an official reply as yet, and I hear to-day that another deputy has been sent down to make further enquiries into the matter. The statement as given above, however, supplies us with three or four important facts: (1) There can be no doubt that this vile production has come from Hunan. Though written in mandarin, the style is such that no ordinary scholar could have composed it. Here we have a genuine production from the hand of an able Hunan *scholar*. (2) There can be no doubt that this abominable filth is issued by one of the *Benevolent Halls* of Ch'angsha, the capital of Hunan, and therefore issued with the *connivance* and *sanction* of the local officials. It is a well-known fact that the book has been sent in boat-loads all over the province of Hunan, and that the boats are allowed to pass the Custom-houses free of all imposts. (3) There can be no doubt that men of influence and position do not think it beneath their dignity to disseminate this foul literature. In point of wealth and respectability the pawn-shops stand first in every Chinese city, and the managers as a rule hold official rank. The managers of the Huangpi shop are all *ch'üen*, that is to say, they are men who have purchased official rank, and, as such, are on terms of intimacy with the magistrate. These men knew perfectly well the character of this production which they are publishing and circulating, and yet they call it a *shan shu* (善書), the name popularly given to all moral and religious books whose professed aim is to exhort the people to virtue. There is nothing in their depositions to show that they saw anything in the book to be ashamed of, but the very reverse. They went about their filthy work joyfully and with a fixed purpose, believing no doubt that they were rendering great service to their country, and covering themselves with glory. (4) It is perfectly clear that not the least dependence can be placed upon official statements in matters relating to anti-foreign publications and demonstrations. What Huang

Sin-cheng says about his ignorance of the book, and the fewness of the copies distributed, is of course false; and the tale about the death of Feng Teh-tsüen is in all probability a fabrication. Not only were the books given away freely in these six pawn-shops; it is a fact that in Huang Sin-cheng's shop block cutters were employed in cutting blocks for a new edition. The whole story is concocted with the view of shielding both Feng and the managers, and yet the magistrate sends it on to the Viceroy as a thoroughly reliable statement of fact. This, however, is no rare thing in China. Greater men than the Huangpi magistrate do not hesitate to turn their hands to this sort of work whenever it answers their purpose. In Huangpi there are seven pawn-shops in all, all of which, with one exception, are actively engaged in disseminating this book. This is the fact. Compare the official statement as given above with the fact, and you will have some idea of the value to be attached to official veracity. I may add that the seventh shop is owned by a Mohammedan, and that this will probably account for his having nothing to do with the distribution of the book.

The author of *Defensio Populi* (that carefully timed and officially inspired production) tells us that the Chinese Christians belong to "the outcasts of Chinese society," and that "the best of the nation" stand aloof. Well, at Huangpi you see a little bevy of China's *élite*, busily engaged in their delectable work. *Ex uno disce omnes*. The missionary needs not regret that his lot is cast among "the outcasts of Chinese society," if the Huangpi magistrate and *chiiyen* are a fair specimen of "the best of the nation."

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 15th October.

IV.

DR. JOHN ON THE HUNAN MANIFESTO.

SIR,—I enclose a translation of a remarkable manifesto by the people of Hunan. It is entitled 齊心拌命, "With one heart we offer up our lives," and *professes* to be an agreement entered into by all Hunan. The document speaks for itself, but I may as well call attention to one or two points of importance.

(1) There is not a line in this document to indicate that the people of Hunan are in a state of rebellion. There can be no doubt as to the intense hatred of the foreigner which inspired its every sentence, but there is not a word in it which does not evince the utmost loyalty to the Great Pure Dynasty.

(2) The document bears no date, but it is doubtless a recent production, and is intended to meet the demands of the present exigency. The Powers are supposed to be bent upon opening Hunan, and the Hunanese assure the Emperor that they are prepared to fight, not only for Hunan, but for the Empire. They are quite confident that they can raise both the men and the money which may be required to attack and utterly destroy the foreign enemy.

(3) The old policy of burning foreign premises is to be given up, because it does not pay. Foreign houses cannot be burnt without risk to the houses of the people. They are valuable property, and ought to be confiscated for the benefit of the revenue! And above all there is something in incendiarism which the Hunan man feels to be somewhat trying to his compassionate heart!! It is satisfactory to know that our property is *now* safe. It is so decreed by the Hunanese.

(4) It would be interesting to know who it is that directs these movements. The order one day is—"Murder and burn." The next day the order is—"Enough. There is to be no more massacre and no more incendiarism." A mob can execute orders; but a mob does not plan and control. How can we get behind the mob and catch the real criminal?

(5) In the Hunan publications, the worship of Jesus is represented as the worship of licentiousness. Our Lord is represented as a hog crucified, and surrounded by male and female worshippers, some on their knees, and some indulging in licentious merriment. The term 天主教, "The Religion of the Lord of Heaven," is generally written 天豬叫, "The Squeak of the Celestial Hog," and the term 洋人, "Ocean Men," (foreigners), is often written 羊人, "Goat Men." Hence the expression pig-goat-devils in the document, applied sometimes to foreigners generally, sometimes to missionaries in particular, and sometimes to the native Christians. Converts are also called sons and grand-sons of the

devils and the pig-goat-devils, that is, of foreigners. With this explanation your readers will have no difficulty in making out the meaning of the terminology employed in this remarkable production.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 20th October.

齊心拌命.

AN AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY ALL HUNAN.

I.—Each clan shall investigate its own clan. Should any person, whether a scholar, an agriculturist, an artisan, or a merchant be found who does not sacrifice to the spirit of the most perfect, most holy, ancient teacher Confucius, and to the spirit tablets of his own ancestors, it is certain that he is one who has been bewitched by the spies of the goat (foreign) devils, and has entered the religion of the Hog Jesus. He is to be dragged immediately to the ancestral temple, to be severely dealt with by the clan, and to be compelled to forsake his depraved heresy and return to the right way. Should he dare disobey, the whole clan shall take the entire family of the pig-goat-devil, young and old, male and female, and drive them out of the place. Moreover the names and numbers of them shall be printed, and the list shall be sent all over the surrounding districts, prefectures, and subprefectures, so that everywhere they shall be driven out. They shall not be allowed to live within the borders of Hunan. The names of the pig-goat-devils shall be erased from the family registers.

II.—If in the whole province there shall be one clan that does not act stringently in the management of its affairs, so that from carelessness, or favouritism, or under-handed abetment, even one pig-goat-devil should be reared in it, when the neighbourhood has found it out, then, besides driving out the pig-goat-devil and his family, the clan itself shall be called the pig-goat-devil clan. If anyone has already entered into matrimonial alliance with that clan, he will not be allowed to have any further intercourse with it. Henceforth no one in the neighbourhood shall enter into matrimonial alliance with that clan; agriculturists will not be allowed to till the fields of that clan; artisans will not be allowed to enter that clan's service; traders will not be allowed to exchange goods with

that clan. Should that clan have a small pig-goat-devil, who wishes to enter the civil or military examinations, no undergraduate shall act as his guarantee, and no graduate shall report his name.

III.—In the case of travellers coming to the province as traders, doctors, fortune tellers, &c., it is difficult to secure that among them there may not be pig-goat-devils. They shall therefore be subjected everywhere throughout the province to the most rigorous search. That such persons should not carry about with them the spirit tablets of their ancestors is not to be made a cause of blame. But ought they not, on the 1st and 15th of every month, and on the three festive days of the year, sacrifice to the spirits? Ought they not, on the anniversaries of births and deaths, sacrifice to their ancestors? If it is found that they do not sacrifice on these occasions they are to be suspected. They must be asked if they worship the Hog-form of Jesus or not, if they eat the flesh of Jesus or not. If their reply is evasive and prevaricating, let all unite and drive them out. They are not to be endured.

IV.—It is reported that recently among the officials, both civil and military, there are some who, having blinded their hearts and lost all conscience, have renounced allegiance to the most holy and ancient teacher Confucius and the Emperors of the Great Pure Dynasty, and have submitted themselves to the pig-goat-devil countries, and are now aiding the pig-goat-devil religion, and constraining virtuous people to follow the goats (foreigners), change into devils, and worship the Hog. The sin and guilt of these fellows being full, they will find it difficult to escape the law of the land and the chastisement of heaven. Our whole province having sworn not to follow the goats (foreigners) and become devils, nor worship the Hog, even should any of these fellows come to Hunan, how would they *dare* constrain *us*? How *could* they constrain *us*? We all agree that we will not avail ourselves of any cry for expelling them to create disturbances. Nevertheless it will be absolutely necessary, as cases turn up, to set on foot secret inquiries, so as not to allow ourselves to be deluded by their magical arts or be tempted by promises of gain, and thus destroy the three bands of human society and bring to ruin the five cardinal virtues. If, on clear evidence, it is found that any official is a grandson of the pig-goat-devils, and that in this he is not calumniated, then public action shall be taken with regard to him. A portrait of him shall be painted, and portraits of his ancestors

for three generations shall be painted, as goat-pig-devils. A description of his office, birthplace, name and surname shall be drawn up, and sent to all the high officials of Peking and the provinces, and we will beg them to memorialise the throne, praying His Majesty will decree such a punishment as will root out the plague from Hunan.

V.—Should the pig-goat-devils (foreigners) dare to show any desire to oppress the country, and from any cause create trouble, then the moment the Emperor's command to chastise and exterminate them is received, the clan elders of the entire province will themselves lead their able-bodied men to the call for troops. As to those who shall give up their lives in gratitude to their country, the clans will unitedly provide the money for their burial and funeral rites, and for the support of their parents, widows, and children. Should any clan timidly shrink and refuse to go forward, or should any clan covetously refuse to contribute towards the repose of the ghosts of the loyal ones, then the neighbourhood shall ostracise that clan, and treat it as a pig-goat-devil clan.

VI.—Should the pig-goat-devils dare to show a special desire to contract animosity with our Hunan, and stealthily invade our boundaries, then the larger prefectures and districts shall provide 20,000 men, the medium sized 15,000 men, and the smaller ones 10,000 men. We will unitedly subscribe the troops and the cost of weapons of war; and we will ask the authorities to distribute the troops, and at once proceed to fight the foreigners.

VII.—Whether there be trouble or not, we agree that we will not allow the burning of churches and chapels; because, first, it might lead to the destruction of adjoining native houses, and, secondly, because they ought to be handed over to the authorities, to be sold for the benefit of the revenue. Besides, the burning of houses is in itself a lamentable thing.

(Translated by GRIFFITH JOHN.)

Hankow, 20th October.

V.

DR. JOHN'S DISCOVERY OF ONE OF THE
ANTI-CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

(1.)

SIR,—A few days since, one of the literary men of this province placed in my hands a letter, of which the enclosed is a translation.

My friend assured me that it is a thoroughly reliable document. If it be so, and I have no reason to doubt it, you will agree with me that it is an exceedingly valuable document. I have been asserting from the beginning that all these publications are composed by men of position ; that they are issued by the Benevolent Halls, and countenanced by the officials. Of the truth of all this, I am now sending you the proof. The name Chou Han (周漢) has been well-known to me for nearly two years. One of the most violent placards I possess bears his name. But till now I have had a lurking suspicion that it was a bogus name. The truth is out at last.

My friend Dr. Edkins, in your issue of 17th September, writes thus :—"Your contributor 'F.' represents the editor of the (經世文) *Ching-shih-wen*, as writing certain passages which on examining I find were really written by the anonymous author of *Chung-si-ki-shih*. *In fact all the slanders against Christianity are anonymous or written by authors long since dead.* The passages ascribed by 'F.' to the editor of the Blue Books, Ko Shih-jui, are really in the older work. This editor is a Shanghai man now living, *who would never write these slanders, or, if he did, could not put his name to them.*"* It is always a dangerous thing in China to make sweeping statements like these. Chou Han is a scholar, holding high official rank, and one of the best known men in Hunan, and yet he is the author of some of the most vile and inflammatory of the Hunan publications. He is the reputed author of *Death to the Devils' Religion* (鬼教該死). On the cover of that book his name appears as (周孔徒) "Chou a disciple of Confucius." In a day or two I will send you a translation of one of his placards, in which he gives his name in full. In this letter to T'an (譚), the Governor of Hupeh, he lays the entire blame, if it be blame, of the publication and dissemination of this vile literature upon himself and the provincial officials. He has not been doing his work anonymously ; neither is he dead. He is on terms of perfect intimacy with the highest officials. This letter to his friend T'an is written in the style in which equals write to each other.

This man is still at large, and his relative T'ang together with T'ang's companions have been, I am told, released long since. I

* The italics in both clauses are my own.

hear that the pawn-shop men at Huangpi are to be dealt with severely. No doubt they are being squeezed pretty badly, and two or three of the principal offenders will be more or less severely punished. But they were comparatively innocent. Chou Han and his official friends are the real offenders; and yet it is certain that nothing has been done hitherto to bring them to book, and it is not likely that anything will be done.

Chou Han is truly loyal to the Great Pure Dynasty. There is not a line in this letter, nor in any of his publications, to indicate that he is not true to the existing Government. His gratitude to the ancient sages Yau, Shun, Yü, Tang, etc., etc., is simply boundless. He is prepared to sacrifice his life, in excessive gratitude, on behalf of the ancient sages and the present dynasty. Of course no one knows better than Chou himself that his life is perfectly safe, and his comfort well secured. This is only a Chinese way of putting things, which deceives no one, and amuses many.

As I shall be writing soon again on Chou Han and his deeds, I will say no more now. I should like, however, to assure Mr. Drummond that, when I wrote of "cobweb theories," he and his theory were not in my mind at all. Though I do not see things quite in the light in which he sees them, I have read all that he has written on the subject with deep interest.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 22nd October.

CHOU HAN'S LETTER TO HIS EXCELLENCY T'AN,
GOVERNOR OF HUPEH.

To King-fu, venerable and respected Sir:

Multiplicity of affairs leaves me but little time for letter writing, and it is a long time since I have written to enquire after your health. I would humbly congratulate you on the ten thousand happinesses which attend your down-sitting and up-rising, and on the abundance of your virtuous deeds and meritorious achievements. With regard to the anti-heresy publications, let me state that they are, all of them, printed and disseminated by myself, in concert with the officials and gentry, both civil and military, who have the management of affairs connected with the Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'angsha. Some time ago a relative of mine,

T'ang Chêh-pih, styled Mung Liang, a native of Siangt'an, was going to Wuchang, and we unitedly entrusted him with a hamperfull of these publications for general distribution. After this a special messenger was sent by T'ang to Siangt'an, to inform us that he was imprisoned on account of what he had been doing, and praying that we would come to his rescue, etc., etc. This is amazing! If indeed it be wrong to attack this depraved heresy, then I am, so far as the matter of fabricating words and creating disturbances is concerned, the chief culprit. In all reason, you ought to report me to the Throne, deprive me of my official rank, and arrest me as a criminal. What has my relative T'ang to do with the matter? And even should you take off his head, and hang it up as a warning to all, how could you by so doing put a stop to the thing itself? My special object in writing now is to beg of you to consult with the Viceroy, and set at liberty my relative T'ang, and every one of his companions, who together with him are unjustly implicated; also to return to them every article of property which may have been forcibly taken away from them. I beg of you also to prepare a joint statement of facts, and to impeach me in a memorial. I will respectfully wait my punishment in the provincial capital. I will certainly not run away. If, however, your Excellencies will treat good and honest people as fish and pork, and put me aside and not examine me, then I will go at once to Peking, and cry at the gate of His Majesty's palace. I swear that I will, with my own body, requite the beneficence of Yau, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen, Wu, Cheu Kung, K'ung, and Meng, together with the beneficence of His Majesty the Emperor, the Empress Dowager, and all the Ancestors of the Great Pure Dynasty. I shall certainly not allow my relative T'ang and his injured companions to hand down a fragrant name to all coming ages alone. I am anxiously looking for your reply, so as to decide whether to proceed or to stop. It is for this I now write, also wishing you exalted enjoyment.

Your younger brother and fellow countryman, Chou Han, writes with compliments. Chou Han imperially honoured with the second rank, and expectant Taotai in Shensi, a native of Ninghiang, now at his own village recruiting his health.

(Translated by GRIFFITH JOHN.)

Hankow, 22nd October.

(11.)

SIR,—In the *North-China Herald* of June 19th, there is an important communication from your Wuchang correspondent. It reads thus :—"On Friday night five men were arrested with copies in their possession of one of the cartoons, representing a hog on a cross with mandarins worshipping before it. Enquiries from them led to the discovery of a box of these cartoons in a certain cloth shop in Hankow as the source from which they obtained them. The runners were sent across the river and brought back the accused; he gives the name of the original publisher, a man of Taotai rank, not living in Wuchang, who he says has been principally influential in the universal spread of this form of literature."

Ever since the arrest of these five men, we have been anxious to find out who the "man of Taotai rank" could be. On the 18th instant, one of the scholars of Hupeh called on me, and placed in my hands a copy of Chou Han's (周漢) letter to his friend T'an (譚), the Governor of this province. I have already sent you a translation of this letter, with certain notes and comments upon it. In course of conversation my literary friend made the following remarks :—"There can be no doubt as to the genuineness of the letter, and it is perfectly certain that Chou Han and his official friends are the real authors of these publications, and consequently the real cause of all the riots which have occurred in this region during the past five or six months. I hear that the owners of the Huangpi pawn-shops are to be severely punished. But they are comparatively innocent, why not deal with Chou Han and the managers of the Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'angsha? Why not close the Hall and punish the real culprits, and thus put an effectual end to all this strife? There would be some difficulty, I admit, in dealing with Chou Han, for he is a man of position and influence, a friend of the Hupeh Governor, and intimately acquainted with all the high officials in Hunan; still the Government could deal with him and ought to deal with him."

So spoke my learned friend; and I felt all the time he was speaking, that he had the interest of his own country in view in every word he uttered.

Chou Han's letter to his friend T'an supplies us with the very information which we have been seeking for. It reveals to us the

fact that Chou himself is the "man of Taotai rank, who has been principally influential in the spread of this form of literature," and that T'ang Ch'ên-pih (湯臣弼) and his party are the men who were arrested on the Friday night referred to by your correspondent. Chou Han is a native of Ninghiang (甯鄉) in Hunan, and a bitter hater of foreigners and everything that is foreign. His influence is very great, and he had no difficulty in obtaining the release of his relation T'ang Ch'ên-pih and party. He himself has never been interfered with, though well known to the highest authorities as the principal author, publisher, and disseminator of the anti-foreign publications.

I want to call special attention to the time when those five men were arrested. Chou Han's letter to the Governor bears no date, but the date of the arrest we know. It took place on the night of 12th June, and Chou Han's letter, demanding the release of the party, must have reached the Governor some weeks subsequently. Now the Wuhu riot occurred on 12th May, the Nanking riot on 25th May, the Wusueh riot on 5th June, and the Ichang riot on 2nd September. Compare dates, and you will see at once that all these riots synchronise with the presence of Chou Han's emissaries in the Yangtze valley. Everywhere they found a state of mind ready for their reception, and lots of Hunan men only too glad to join them. But they themselves seem to have been the principal agents in inflaming the popular mind and raising the uproar. Will their temporary arrest account for the lull between the Wusueh and the Ichang riots? It looks very much like it?

In your issue of 22nd instant, there is a translation of a memorial submitted by H.E. the Superintendent of Trade, Liu K'un-yi, and the Governor of Kiangsu, Kang Yi, on the missionary question, in which I find the following statement:—"During the fourth moon of the present year, in consequence of the dissemination of lying rumours, the missionary premises at Wuhu were burnt down, and then followed in close succession the burning and destruction of missionary property at T'anyang, Chinkuai, Wusieh, Yanghu, Kiangyin, and Jukou. Officers were deputed to hold the investigation, and although the facts elicited showed that the rioting was more serious in some places than in others, the leading feature everywhere was the fabrication of baseless rumours by scoundrels lurking in concealment, who incited the populace to riotous proceedings, their object being to take advantage of the

occasion to commit incendiarism and pillage, and so cause a catastrophe of the gravest moment. In the various other districts of the province false rumours were subsequently widely circulated and anonymous placards made their appearance." Thus these two great officials ascribe the riots to the circulation of anonymous placards and the fabrication of baseless rumours; and this is exactly what I have maintained from the beginning. Everywhere Chou Han's placards and pamphlets have been circulated, and everywhere they have produced the same effect.

I have had no difficulty in tracing the cause of these riots to Hunan and the Hunan publications. Up to the 18th instant, however, I had found it impossible to lay my hands upon any one person in Hunan and say—*Thou art the man*. I am able to do so now, and if the evil is to be stopped, this man must be dealt with. The Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'angsha must be closed, and Chou Han, together with the officials who have the management of the Hall, must be degraded. In my next letter I hope to be able to send you a translation of two or three of Chou Han's own publications, in order to give your readers some idea of the mental and moral condition of these who are looked up to in China as the men of light and leading. In the meantime,

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 27th October.

DR. JOHN ON 'THE HUNAN PUBLICATIONS.

I.

SIR,—I received a letter yesterday from one of my native friends in Hunan, accompanied by a package of the Hunan publications. The package contained, besides placards, three books, one of which is the famous 鬼教該死, *Death to the Devils' Religion*. All these publications he bought himself at a printer's shop, situated within the Little West Gate of Ch'angsha, the capital of Hunan. The name of the shop is Teng-meu-hwa (鄧懋華).*

* My friend writes:—此書出在湖南省城小西門內路邊井鄧懋華刻字店翻手所買.

He tells me also that these three books, *at the command of the Prefect of Ch'angsha*, are being preached everywhere, at all the theatres, by *Siu-tsai* graduates, along with the Sacred Edict.*

On this copy of *Death to the Devils' Religion*, it is stated that the cost of the book is 60,000 cash per 10,000 copies, and that eight men have printed at their own expense and given away in charity 800,000 copies in all, or 100,000 copies each.†

In a letter received to-day from the same friend, he tells me that he has purchased from the same shop, Teng-meu-hwa, more than a hundred of the anti-foreign publications, and that he has entrusted them to a friend to be brought to me:

Some time ago I called attention to the publication and dissemination of these publications at Huangpi. I am glad to be able to say that the Viceroy took that matter up at once. I do not think we shall have any further trouble in that district or any of the surrounding districts on this score. I then called attention to Chou Han, the chief offender, and his relation to these publications. I have not heard that anything has been done in his case. I now call attention to the very firm where these publications are printed and published. Will the Viceroy of Hukuang and the Governor of Hunan have the honesty and courage to deal with this firm? If they are truly sincere in their desire to put an end to these troubles, they will not hesitate as to the action which they should take in regard to both Chou Han and 'Teng-meu-hwa. I have not been seeking these facts. They have come to me from various quarters in the most unexpected manner. I have been sending them to you, not with the view of stirring up strife, but with the hope of doing something towards bringing around a better understanding and a more friendly feeling between the Chinese of all classes and ourselves. The facts are now before H.E. Chang Chih-tung. Will he act?

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 6th November.

* I will give again his own words:—此三本書長沙府命生員在各處戲台宣講聖諭十六條並講此書。

† Herewith the names:—萬里城, 嚴防內, 官斌, 平亥, 常樂清, 師孔, 黎庶忠, 齊必順。

II.

SIR,—In my letter of the 6th instant, I called attention to the shop in the city of Ch'angsha in which the anti-foreign books and placards are printed and published. I also called attention to the fact that on the copy of *Death to the Devils' Religion* just received, it is stated that the cost of the book is 60,000 cash per 10,000 copies, and that eight men have printed at their own expense and given away in charity 800,000 copies in all, or 100,000 copies each. Your contemporary of the 11th instant treats the names as fictitious, and the characters composing them as forming a consecutive sentence. In this your contemporary is substantially correct, and I ought, perhaps, to have pointed this out at the time of writing. But my object was simply to call attention to the wide and free distribution of this infamous publication. I had been told that the book had been sent in boat-loads all over Hunan, and that the distribution was gratuitous. I had, however, no written evidence of the fact till this copy came to hand. Copies of several editions have reached me, but the last is the only one which bears on its cover any printed reference to the matter. Though the names are fictitious, I have every reason for believing that the statement is strictly true. It is not at all incredible that eight men should undertake the gratuitous distribution of 800,000 copies of this book. Of all the anti-foreign publications, this is to-day the most popular in Hunan. It takes the place of *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, published more than twenty years ago. *The Death Blow*, however, was written for the scholars, whilst *Death to the Devils' Religion* is written for the people. Any one who can read at all, can read this book; and we know that it has been read and is being read by millions of ordinary readers in Hunan and elsewhere. There are tens of thousands in Hunan, among the wealthy and influential, who would regard it as a most meritorious act to contribute towards the dissemination of this book.

We can quite understand why the contributors should wish to conceal their real names, and any one acquainted with the Chinese way of putting things would not be surprised to find the pseudonyms so constructed as to convey a covert meaning. Let me give the eight names again, as I find them on the cover of this copy of

鬼教該死 They are given in the following order : **萬里城** ; **嚴防內** ; **官斌** ; **平亥** ; **常樂清** ; **師孔** ; **黎庶忠** ; **齊心戰**. Let us bear in mind that **萬里城** (the Great Wall of China) stands in this connection for Hunan ; that **亥** (the 12th of the Twelve Animals of the Duodenary Cycle) means pig, and stands for foreigners ; that **清** (Purity) stands for the Great Pure Dynasty, and we shall have no difficulty in guessing the meanings which these pseudonyms were intended to convey ; "The Great Wall (Hunan) strictly guards the Inner Land ; the officials, both civil and military, will subdue the pigs (foreigners) ; the Great Pure Dynasty shall ever be our delight ; Confucius shall be our teacher ; the masses of the people are loyal ; we with united heart desire to fight."

This translation (substantially the same as that given by your contemporary) hits the meaning, I think. Here you have, first, a list of anonymous subscribers :—Great Wall, 100,000 copies ; Guardian of Inner Land, 100,000 copies ; pig-subduer, 100,000 copies, etc., etc. Here you have, secondly, a declaration of the Hunan feeling, desire, and purpose in regard to the foreigner and foreign intercourse, couched in a little riddle. The riddle is intended to announce the fact (?) that Hunan is ready to fight the foreigner and drive him out. Thus are we assured once more that the Hunanese are enthusiastically loyal to the existing dynasty, and that all their wrath is centred exclusively on the Western barbarian.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 17th November.

III.

SIR,—A native friend has just called on me with a large bundle of the Hunan publications, which he himself purchased a few weeks since at the Teng-meu-hwa (**鄧懋華**) shop in the city of Ch'angsha. Some of the books and placards were wrapped in waste sheets of the Teng-meu-hwa account books. I enclose one of these sheets for your inspection. On the edge you will find the name of the shop, Teng-meu-hwa, and the name of the situation, Low-pien-tsing (**路邊井**).

Some of the publications are old acquaintances of mine, and among them there are one or two whose names have become familiar to your readers. But some are quite new to me. Among the new ones is a pictorial work, consisting of thirty-two cartoons, and designated **謹遵聖諭辟邪全圖**, *Heresy exposed in respectful obedience to the Sacred Edict: A complete Picture Gallery*. My friend tells me that these works are spoken of in Hunan as the productions of a Taotai. The name, however, he could not give me. There can be no doubt that the Taotai is no other than Chou Han, the friend of T'an, the Governor of Hupeh. The title of one of Chou Han's well-known sheet tracts is **謹遵聖諭辟邪**, a title identical with that of this pictorial work. It may be taken for granted that this, the most infamous of all the Hunan publications, is a product of this man's brain.

Anything more horribly beastly and disgusting than these painted representations it would be impossible to imagine. Here you have, depicted in brilliant colours, the licentious worship of the Crucified Hog, the extracting of the foetus, the cutting off of the nipples, the gouging of children's eyes, the emasculating of boys, the slaying of the goats (foreigners), the offering in sacrifice to ancestors of the dead Hog (Jesus) and the dead goat (foreigner), etc., etc., etc. I have not seen anything, during my long sojourn in this land, that has made me feel so sick at heart.

The reading of these books, and the sight of these pictures, are enough to cast the most earnest and enthusiastic well-wisher of China into a state of utter despair. We must never forget that they are the productions of men of education, position, and influence, and that their dissemination in Hunan is as well-known to the magistrates as it is to the people. My friend tells me that all the walls of Ch'angsha, the very capital of Hunan, are covered with these cartoons. They are taken sheet by sheet, and posted everywhere. The Emperor's Edict is there; and the joint Proclamation of the Viceroy of Hukuang and the Governor of Hunan is there. And yet, side by side with these Imperial and Viceregal documents, you have these unutterably vile placards. Everyone, from the Governor down to the street coolie, knows it, and, with the exception of the few Christians who may be living at Ch'angsha, everyone rejoices in it. It is this that clothes these anti-foreign

publications with so much significance to my mind. I may call further attention to this pictorial work next week. In the meantime,

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 21st November.

IV.

SIR,—In a letter just received from one of my native friends in Hunan there is one item of interesting news. My friend writes : “ I feel sure that you have received my former letter, and that you have communicated the facts to the Viceroy Chang ; for a despatch from the Viceroy has reached Hunan, and the Governor of Hunan has ordered the district magistrate to quickly seize, and bring to trial, the heads of the three printing establishments, Teng-meu-hwa (鄧懋華), Tseng-yeu-wen (曾郁文), and Ch'en-tsü-teh (陳聚德). The management of this affair (the publication and dissemination of the anti-foreign literature) is undertaken by Chou Ta-jen (周大人), who formerly held the official rank of Taotai. This man says that he has spent more than Tls. 20,000 on the publication and dissemination of anti-foreign books, sheet-tracts, and cartoons. At present he is at the district magistrate's office defending the cause of these three printing establishments, and bearing all the expenses connected with their trial. He says that he alone is responsible, and that the affair has nothing to do with any one else.”

Such is the interesting bit of news which has just reached me. Though my friend is wrong in supposing that there has been a direct communication between the Viceroy and myself, there can be no doubt that it is the discovery of Teng-meu-hwa's guilt, made by me some weeks since, that has led to the arrest of the heads of these *three* printing establishments. The names of the other two have not been unknown to me ; but, the proof of their guilt being not sufficient, I thought it best not to mention them at all. It is evident, however, that their true character has been known to the local officials all along ; and it is to be regretted that it was necessary that a *foreigner* should call public attention to the existence of this source of danger in Ch'angsha, ere the officials could be induced to take the least notice of it.

Personally I am thankful for the action which H.E. Chang Chih-tung has already taken in regard to these printing establishments. But is H.E. prepared to deal with Chou *Ta-jen*, who is of course no other than Chou Han? Your readers have not forgotten Chou Han's letter to his friend T'an, the Governor of Hupeh—how he tells the Governor that all the anti-heresy publications are printed and disseminated by himself, in concert with the officials and gentry, both civil and military, who have the management of affairs connected with the Benevolent Hall (寶善堂) in Ch'ang-sha—how he declares that his relative T'ang Ch'en-pih had been entrusted by himself and the managers of the Benevolent Hall with a quantity of these publications for general distribution in Hupeh—how he boasts of the fact that he is the chief culprit, defies both the Viceroy and the Governor, and demands the immediate release of his relative and all his companions.

On that occasion Chou Han did not interfere in vain. His relation was released, and, ever since, he himself has been carrying on his anti-foreign crusade with as much energy as ever. The Hunan manifesto is, no doubt, a production of his brain and pen, and so is the pictorial work to which I called attention in my letter of the 21st ult. He is now interfering on behalf of these three printing establishments, and it remains to be seen with what success. But the arrest and punishment of these three establishments is a matter of very secondary importance. The real offenders are Chou Han and his official companions, and the putting down of this evil will depend wholly and entirely on the action that will be taken in regard to them. In one of his placards Chou Han writes :—" My neighbour T'suei Wu-tze, when compiling the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, concealed his real name, and called himself 'The man most distressed in heart.' This he did in order to shun the point of the devil's spear. Not so Han." And he then gives his own name in full, together with the name of his native city. Whether he is a truly brave man, or whether he is merely presuming on his position and influence, I cannot say. In any case his name is well-known to the higher officials as the inspirer and leader of this anti-foreign movement in Hunan. If H.E. Chang is sincerely desirous of bringing this strife to a satisfactory close, he will deal at once with this man and his official associates of the Benevolent Hall. Let him secure their degradation and banishment, and the anti-foreign agitation in

Hunan will die a natural death, the missionaries will find travelling in Hunan as pleasant as they do now in Hupeh, and the Viceroy himself will have less difficulty in governing the province on the lines of his own choice. Those who are at the head of the anti-foreign movement in Hunan are the sworn enemies of all progress, and are bent on opposing the introduction of every innovation, however beneficial to the country. It is not in the interest of the foreigners only that I suggest the punishment of these men, but in the interest of the people of Hunan also. Besides, to punish the printers of these publications whilst their authors and real disseminators are allowed to go scot-free, would be atrocious. I greatly fear, however, that this is the very thing that is going to be done. But can the Viceroy bring Chou Han and his associates to book? Perhaps not, unless pressure is brought to bear upon him from Peking. It is for the representatives of the Foreign Powers in Peking to bring pressure to bear on the Central Government, and thus make it possible for the Viceroy to deal with the case.

"Let them alone and the whole thing will die down of itself." So writes a friend from Shanghai. But my friend has never been to Hunan, and knows nothing about the Hunanese at home. The policy of the past has been the policy of letting them alone, and the result has been what we have seen this year. In the interest of China, as well as in our own interest, I hope and pray that our Ministers in Peking will not let them alone, till Hunan shall cease to be the fount of the poisonous literature which has done so much mischief of late.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 8th December.

V.

SIR,—In my letter of the 8th instant, I stated that I had just received a letter from one of my native friends in Hunan, informing me that H.E. Chang, the Viceroy of Hukuang, had sent a despatch to the Governor of Hunan ordering the apprehension and punishment of the three printers, Teng-meu-hwa (鄧懋華), Tseng-yeu-wen (曾郁文), and Ch'en-tsü-teh (陳聚德), and that Chou Han (周漢), was in the city defending the cause of these

three printing establishments, and taking upon himself the entire responsibility in connection with the publication and dissemination of the Hunan anti-foreign literature.

Another letter has come to hand to-day from the same friend, giving me a little more information in regard to these matters. There can be no doubt as to the perfect truthfulness of my friend's statements. I know the man well, and have every confidence in his veracity. He writes:—"I presume that my former letter has come to hand. The reviling storm has subsided; the heads of the three firms, concerning whom I wrote you in my last, have got their neighbours to secure them and obtain their release. Their sureties declare that there are no blocks of the reviling publications to be found in their possession. I have been making enquiries secretly into the matter, and I find that all the blocks have been handed over to Chou *Ta-jen*. Chou's official designation is T'ieh Chung (鐵忠). He was formerly an expectant Taotai in Shensi. His temporary residence (公館) in the city of Ch'angsha is in the Tungmau lane (東茅巷). He is on the most intimate terms with all the officials, and heretofore has been protected and patronised by all the Provincial Governors. His fame is widely spread in every direction. But he greatly hates Li Hung-chang, and H.E. Chang, the Hukuang Viceroy, on account of the constant intercommunication they are having with Foreign Governments." From these two letters, it would appear that the heads of these three firms were arrested; that they were released soon after the arrest; and that they owe their release to the interference of Chou Han.

This is the second time Chou Han has triumphed. He has proved himself more than a match for the Governor of Hupeh, the Governor of Hunan, and the Governor-General of both Hupeh and Hunan. He himself has never been touched, and no one dares touch him. The blocks of the anti-foreign publications are still in his possession; and the Governor of Hunan is doubtless perfectly aware of the fact. There is a lull just now; but if this man is not dealt with, it will not last long. The evil is now fully exposed, and it does not look quite so formidable as it did at one time. There was a time when it was thought that all Hunan was up in arms against us; and it certainly did appear to be so. It looks now, however, as if the Hunan opposition has its sole origin

in Ch'angsha, the capital, and that it finds its heart and brain in Chou Han, and the Ch'angsha Benevolent Hall coterie, consisting chiefly of civil and military officials both expectant and non-expectant. The head of Hunan is Ch'angsha, and the head of Ch'angsha, so far as the anti-foreign crusade is concerned, is Chou Han, and the official clique by which he is surrounded. This simplifies matters considerably. Now that one at least of the great causes of the recent riots is laid bare, let us hope that something radical will be done to put an end to it. This Ch'angsha power to do mischief must be broken, ere peace and confidence can possibly be restored. The blocks are still intact, and in the safe custody of our arch-enemy. If nothing is done soon, the present lull will be broken up, another stream of filth will pour itself into this valley from Ch'angsha, and the bitter experiences of this year will be repeated in the next.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 28th December.

VI.

SIR,—The following is a translation of one of Chou Han's sheet tracts. It is interesting as throwing some light upon the position and character of the leader in the present anti-foreign agitation. As to T'suei Wu-tsze (崔五子), my impression is that it is a pseudonym. There can be no doubt that the author of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* is or was a Hunan man, for Chou speaks of him as a neighbour of his. An effort has been made to trace the authorship to P'êng, the late famous Admiral of the Yangtze Kiang. Whether he was the author or not, there can be no doubt as to the general opinion in regard to the matter. Notwithstanding the extreme foulness of the production, the natives do not hesitate to ascribe the work to P'êng. The light recently thrown upon Chou Han and the official coterie of which he is the head, reveals a mental and moral condition among the higher classes in China which has startled not a few among us. Chou Han is a man of high official rank, a good scholar, and highly respected throughout all Hunan. And yet this man is the author and disseminator of the filthiest literature, in the shape of books, pamphlets, and pictures, that has ever disgraced even the Chinese language.

I would call attention to the fact that the anti-Christian writers find a very convenient and powerful weapon in the Sacred Edict (*Shêng-yü*). In the Hunan publications, this famous work is frequently referred to in justification of the anti-foreign agitation. The very title page of the pictorial work to which I have already called your attention, and whose author is probably no other than Chou Han, tells us exactly in what light the author regards his attack on the foreigner and the foreign religion. The title of the pictorial work is the same as that of this sheet tract, and the author's adoption of it shows that he looks upon himself as simply acting in compliance with the Imperial commands, as given in the Sacred Edict. Has the time not come when the Chinese Government should be asked by the Foreign Powers to expunge from the *Shêng-yü* its every hostile reference to Christianity, and bring it into harmony with the Imperial Edict issued this year? If Christianity is allowed to appear as a proscribed religion in the *Shêng-yü*, the recent Imperial Edict will soon become a dead letter so far as the people are concerned.

Chou Han's sheet tract, of which the following is a translation, is entitled, *Heresy exposed in respectful obedience to the Sacred Edict*. It reads as follows:—"My neighbour T'suei Wu-tsze, when compiling the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, concealed his real name and called himself 'The man most distressed in heart.' This he did in order to avoid the point of the devil's spear. Not so Han! The Roman Catholic sect (literally the Heaven-doomed depraved-sect) have fabricated the name of the depraved devil Jesus, and, violating the sacred rites and breaking through the bounds of propriety, honour and worship him as the equal of Heaven. They have fabricated monstrous books, in which they vilify heaven, earth, and the three lights (sun, moon, and stars), saying that they are mere utensils and things, created by the depraved devil Jesus. They vilify the deceased parents and ancestors of men, saying that when they leave the world, they are nothing better than broken discarded utensils and things. All the sages and gods of China are insulted and reviled by them. They have the impudence to disseminate these books in every direction, deluding the simple among the people, and committing lewdness with men's wives and daughters. Their sins have reached Heaven. Both gods and men are incensed. If we do not beat the drum and attack them, how can this depraved sect and those monstrous

books be exterminated? Most hateful of all are those fellows (friendly officials) who follow the depraved devils (foreigners), and assist the devils in oppressing the people. As they seek to be at enmity with me, I swear that I will fight them to the death. I now write a distich for my funeral scroll, to be printed and handed down to all future generations. The distich reads thus: 'I, having suffered death in following the instructions of the gods, expounding the Sacred Edict, and exposing depraved religions, come boldly into the presence of all the Emperors of the Great Pure Dynasty, and the Spirits of all the Sages, Immortals, and Buddhas, and, bowing my head to the ground, style myself Chen Tieh Han (真鐵漢), (A Genuine Man of Iron, and may be translated, 'Han the Ironside'). But should I allow myself to be cast down by reason of unexpected calamity, or deluded by empty talk, or frightened by the bark of mad dogs (foreigners), and thus be led to abandon my principles, then shall I at my death bequeath to posterity the bad reputation of a disloyal subject, of an unfilial son, and of a foolish, cruel, cowardly fellow, utterly unworthy of being counted among the men of the Great Pure Dynasty.'

"Issued for general circulation on the 1st day of the 16th year of Kuang Hsü (January 21st, 1890) by Chou Han, styled Chen Tieh (真鐵), a native of Hunan, Ninghiang (甯鄉) district."

Such is the tract, and such is the epitaph which this hero has prepared for his burial.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 29th December.

VII.

SIR,—It may interest some of your readers to know that I have had the pleasure of meeting a Ch'angsha man who is intimately acquainted with the famous Chou Han. Yesterday being the first of January, many of the converts called on me to pay their respects and offer their congratulations. One of those who called is a Hunan man, and he brought with him five or six of his heathen friends. As soon as I found that one of them was from Ch'angsha, I asked him if he knew Chou Han. He replied that he knew

Chou Han well, having been at one time his cook. I asked him about Chou Han's age and character. He told me that he must be between forty and fifty, and that he bore a good name as a lover of the people. My visitor seemed surprised to find that I felt any interest in Chou Han, and asked me if I knew him. I told him that I did not know him, but that I knew a great deal about him; and then showed him two or three of Chou Han's placards, and called his attention to the various names by which he delights to call himself, such as T'ieh-chung (鐵忠), T'ieh-chen (鐵真), Chen-t'ieh (真鐵), and Chou So-ying (周所膺). My visitor recognized them all as familiar names, and said: "Yes, that is the man." Then I showed him a placard issued by Chou Han at the beginning of this (Chinese) year, wherein he states that he was at the time just fifty years of age. My visitor remarked that he had not seen him for some years, but he thought fifty would be about the right mark.

This day last year Chou Han was busy at work, concerting plans for the destruction of the foreigners residing in this valley. His name was unknown to us then. Eight months ago, his emissaries were in this valley actively engaged in carrying out his nefarious schemes. We were told at the time that an official of 'Taotai rank was connected with the publication and dissemination of the anti-foreign books and placards. But we were not sure of his name, and knew nothing of his whereabouts, and of the actual part he was taking in the movement. In October his letter to the Governor of Hupeh was discovered, and ever since the whole man has been coming more and more into the light, Chou Han is no more a myth to us. Even his *quondam* cook is known to us. This is a discovery I never expected to make; but having made it I am beginning to wonder what will happen next. The thought has struck me that I may have the pleasure of seeing Chou Han himself walking into my study one of these days.

I may add that my visitor was, till yesterday morning, a perfect stranger to me, and that he had not the faintest notion that even the name of Chou Han was known to me.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 2nd January, 1892.

DR. JOHN ON THE SACRED EDICT AND THE HUNAN PUBLICATIONS.

SIR,—In my letter of 29th December, I called attention to the fact that the anti-Christian writers find a very powerful weapon in the Sacred Edict (*Shêng-yü*), and suggested that the Foreign Powers in their attempt to suppress the cause of the recent riots should take special notice of this important fact. In the *Picture Gallery* just published at Hankow, there are two notes bearing on this subject which I should like to see reproduced in your columns. The *Gallery* is entitled *Heresy exposed in respectful obedience to the Sacred Edict*. On this title we have the following note:—

“*The Sacred Edict*, so called because written by two of the canonised Emperors of the present dynasty, is a kind of paternal address from the Throne to the people, and is held in the greatest reverence by the Chinese. In 1670, the Emperor Kang Hsi published a hortatory edict in sixteen sections of seven words each. His son Yung Chêng published, in 1724, an amplification of these edicts, being sixteen lectures on the sixteen texts of his father. These lectures with the themes on which they were written constitute what is called *The Sacred Edict*. One of these chapters, or lectures, is made use of as an introduction to the book *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* with the view of giving it the highest possible sanction. Artful allusions are made to it in different parts of this book, with the design of convincing the reader that to drive out foreigners and their religion, would be but carrying out the views of the most renowned Emperors of Chinese history.” See *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*, page 1. Translated from the Chinese at Têng-chow, and published at Shanghai in 1870.

“Among all the numerous writings,” says Williams in his *Middle Kingdom*, “published for the improvement and instruction of the people by their rulers, none has been so celebrated as the *Shêng-yü*, or Sacred Commands. In order that none should plead ignorance for not knowing the sacred commands, it is by law required that they be proclaimed throughout the empire, by the local officers, on the first and fifteenth day of every month, in a public hall set apart for the purpose, when the people are not only permitted, but requested, and encouraged, to attend.”

The chapter made use of as an introduction to the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* is the seventh, and has for its theme:—
“Suppress strange religions for the purpose of exalting orthodox

doctrine." In this chapter, Christianity is classed among the strange religions which are not to be followed by the Chinese people. The following extract from this chapter will give the reader some idea of its bearing on the anti-Christian literature which has been flooding the country of late. The extract is taken almost verbatim from the translation given by the translators of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*. It reads thus:—

"With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teaching of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things; all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines, which must be suppressed and exterminated. . . . From ancient times the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the pre-eminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism. . . . There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers who under the pretence of teaching these systems (Buddhism and Taoism) bring them into the greatest disrepute, making false parade of what is propitious and what is unpropitious, and of future rewards and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. . . . The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblies treacherous, depraved, and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations, and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperil their lives, sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. . . . Such are the *Peh-lien*, the *Wen-hiang*, and similar religions. They should be a beacon of warning to you. *Such also is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of Heaven, T'ien Chu. It also is not to be regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers were well versed in mathematics, our Government made use of them. Of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorised doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them; for false and corrupt teachers our Government has fixed punishments.*"

The above extract will suffice to show what a powerful weapon the anti-Christian agitation finds in the *Shêng-yü*. In the Hunan publications, it is frequently referred to in justification of the anti-Christian movement. The very title page of this pictorial work

tells us in what light the author regards his attack on the foreigner and the foreign religion. He looks upon himself as simply acting in compliance with the Imperial Commands, as given in *The Sacred Edict*. Has the time not come when the Chinese Government should be asked by the Foreign Powers to expunge from the *Shêng-yü* its every hostile reference to Christianity, and to bring it into harmony with the Imperial Edict issued this year? If Christianity is allowed to continue to appear as a proscribed religion in the *Shêng-yü*, the present Imperial Edict will soon become a dead letter, so far as the people are concerned.

The second note is to be found on Cartoon XV, entitled *Hasten on the fattening of the Pigs*, and might be entitled, *Celebrate Marriages with the Slaughter of the Pigs*. The note reads thus:—"Cartoons XV-XX are of a piece, and intended to heap contempt on the foreigner and foreign religion. They are intended also as a prophecy of the fate which awaits both. The following extracts from one of the Hunan publications, called *K'ing T'ien Chu* 擎天柱, (A Pillar which bears the Sky), will help the reader in understanding these Cartoons. *K'ing T'ien Chu* contains a petition presented to the Foreign Office at Peking, by a number of the Hunan scholars, and a letter from the Governor of Hunan to the then Viceroy of Chihli. Whether the Governor's letter is genuine or not, the writer of this note cannot say: but there can be no doubt as to *K'ing T'ien Chu* being one of the best known publications in Ch'angsha, the capital of Hunan. It is also one of the three anti-Christian books which the *Siu-ts'ai* graduates are preaching at the theatres in Ch'angsha, along with the *Sacred Edict*. Being circulated with the full knowledge of the Hunan officials, we are justified in taking it as genuine. Having acknowledged the receipt of a despatch from the Chihli Viceroy, communicating the orders of the Foreign Office, to the effect that the publication and circulation of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* should be suppressed, the Governor proceeds to state that the book in question is to be found in every family, and in all the monasteries and temples, throughout the entire province of Hunan. "There is not," he states, "a city, not a village, not a book shop, not a printing shop, in which the book is not to be found. The destruction of it is impossible. Besides, it has for its first chapter the seventh section of the Emperor's Sacred Instructions (*Shêng-yü*). Who among the officials of the Great

Pure Dynasty would dare burn it? Who could have the moral hardihood to burn it? When I first bought the book, just as I was beginning to read I saw that the treatise was headed with the words *Sacred Instructions* (*Shêng-yü*). I thereupon burnt incense, knelt down, and began to chant. Then I got up, sat down, and read. Having turned the leaves over and over again, and carefully examined it, *I saw that its noble words and perfect reasoning were simply an expansion of the Sacred Instructions*. It commanded my most profound respect. As soon as my official duties were over, I knelt down and chanted the *Sacred Instructions*, and then I got up, sat down, and read the book. I dared not treat it with the least disrespect." The Governor further proceeds to state that orders for the destruction of the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* must have been caused by ignorance of its true nature on the part of both the Chihli Viceroy and the Foreign Office. Speaking of himself, however, he states:—"As for me, having bought and read this book, and knowing perfectly that it is a *helpful commentary on the Sacred Instructions*, were I immediately, on the receipt of your despatch, to order the officials under my jurisdiction to act according to your orders, then, what sort of a man would the officials and the people under my charge take me to be? And what sort of man would I take myself to be? To gladden the hearts of the barbarians, by feeding the flames of depraved doctrines, destroying the *Sacred Instructions*, injuring the dignity of the Empire, opposing propriety and throwing into confusion the five cardinal virtues, corrupting public morals and injuring good manners, and thus sin against the renowned doctrine (of Confucius), and hand down a stinking reputation to all future ages—this is certainly what I dare not do and cannot do, though it should cost me my life. Moreover, there are printed and circulated in Hunan, several hundred different kinds of anti-Christian books, ballads, and cartoons. The *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* is not the only book. Married women, maidens, and little children three years old, all hate the Hog Jesus. When they call the pigs, they use the words *Je-su* (Jesus); eating pork they call eating the flesh of Jesus; in transacting business at the butcher shops, they all use the expressions 'selling Jesus,' 'buying Jesus.' This is attacking the depraved religion to the utmost. Though the books and the blocks of this one work should be burned, how could the depraved religion of the Celestial Hog enter Hunan?"

Some quotations have been given already from the infamous *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines*. One more may be given in order to show the kind of article this is in which the Governor found so much to his taste. . . . Such is the book over which the Governor gloats, and before which he felt he must fall on his knees and burn incense. His statement regarding the attitude of the Hunan *people* with respect to Christianity, is as wide of the truth as his description of the book. It simply suited him so to represent the matter.

The passage from the *Death Blow to Corrupt Doctrines* which I have omitted is altogether too filthy for your columns. Any one who wishes to know what it is, may consult the Têng-chow translation of that vile production, or the notes in the *Picture Gallery*. My one aim in now calling attention to these two notes is to point out the important relation between the Sacred Edict and the Hunan publications. I am not speaking against the Sacred Edict as a whole, or even the seventh chapter as a whole. All I wish to call attention to is the one passage in the seventh chapter, which treats of the Christian religion. There may be a difference of opinion as to the *exact* translation of that passage; but there can be no doubt as to its main scope and intention. Neither can there be any doubt as to the meaning which the Chinese themselves attach to it. In that well-known passage, Christianity appears as a proscribed religion, and the anti-Christian writers feel perfectly justified in using it as such. It is some months since I called attention to the poison in the *Blue Books* which ought to be suppressed. I now, with equal earnestness and more earnestness, call attention to the poison in the famous *Shêng-yü*. The quantity in the latter is infinitesimal as compared with the former, but, being in the *Shêng-yü*, it is more essential and vital. The expunging of this one passage from the *Shêng-yü* would do more than anything else towards putting an end to the infamous literature which has been doing so much mischief of late.

I am, etc.,

GRIFFITH JOHN.

Hankow, 27th January, 1892.

“A CANDID FRIEND’S” VIEWS
(MISSIONARY STATUS AND MISSIONARY BLUNDERS.)

I.

In the pamphlet on *Missionaries in China*, which we notice below, a monograph destined to be widely read and studied by those who do not as well as by those who do agree with its author, “A Candid Friend” writes with much force on the great mistake made by too many of the missionaries in not making the most of the good they cannot but find, if they look honestly, in the religion and morality which they come to China to supplant : what the writer says has indeed often been said before, among others by many of the leading missionaries themselves, but it is here well put again. “To say, as in deed if not in words many of them do, that there is absolutely no good in systems which have sustained so great a people through periods of time during which the mightiest empires of the earth have risen, flourished, fallen, and been resolved, into their elements is surely to do violence to obvious truth. And to assign all the good which cannot be gainsaid to the insidious devices of the Evil One is but a poor kind of monkish subterfuge, an escape for minds driven to the wall by fixed beliefs brought into open contradiction with observed facts. In turning away therefore from the native virtues of the Chinese, the missionaries seem to be surrendering the strongest vantage ground they could occupy as a base for evangelising operations.” We pointed out not long since the very grave mistake made by the Churches, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, in not adopting and assimilating the foundation of both religion and morality in China, ancestor worship. “What then is the attitude of Christianity,” says our author, “towards this venerable, deep-rooted moral force? Do the missionaries seek to attach it to their service? On the contrary, they refuse to tolerate it on the face of the earth, and bluntly call on China to choose forthwith between Christ and her ancestors :—and she does.”

It is common to assert that the Chinese are in a state of arrested education ; that the education of the race reached what was a remarkably high level for the time some two thousand years ago ; but was there arrested and has never got beyond that. There is a similar condition of arrested education from which individuals suffer, and it is seen where men are addicted to the worship of words. As our writer says :—

"Word-worship is the perpetual bane of the book-learned, who, like other men, become assimilated to what they work in, and end by putting the symbols in the place of the things symbolised. Missionaries seem to suffer from two forms of this disease of the learned. One is exhibited in an array of phrases transferred from archaic Hebrew and Aramaic Greek to archaic, but very beautiful English, which are in early youth committed blindly to memory, and in adult life worshipped, the little idols being kept neatly ranged in rows in little cerebral shrines, dusted and always ready to be brought out. The other form is the worship of words in general,—logolatry.

"Under the tyranny of this *cultus* a whole generation of missionaries have expended their strength in wearisome logomachy about the Chinese terms used for the Supreme. The Protestants could not of course employ the terms already made familiar to the Chinese by the early Catholic missions, because theirs was the god of the hills, while ours was the god of the plains—or for some equally valid reason. During the thirty years' disputation it would be hard to say how many new word-deities may have been added to the Chinese Pantheon, but the dispute has ended in smoke. With better knowledge most of the Protestant missionaries are now unostentatiously adopting the term which was used by the early Jesuits. But what a sacrifice to mere words—'husks,' as the late Dr. Williamson ventured to call them, to the scandal of his missionary brethren."

"Idolatry," which is made to cover everything that the missionary disapproves of, is one of the words whose use shows arrested education, and so is the use of the word "worship" for the Chinese annual commemoration of the dead. The word itself admirably expresses the service in question, but it has become objectionable because it is used as if the commemoration were "idolatrous."

Then the "Candid Friend" comes to the more positive side of the missionaries' teaching, and he says :—

"Much as the division of the Christian force into so many separate factions is to be deplored, and detrimental to the prospects of the missions as is the transference of these relics of strife from their native homes to the soil of China, it is not on the missionaries but on the Societies which send them out that the blame, if any, rests. That it is a great evil can hardly be doubted. Whenever

Chinese converts obtain a hearing on the subject, they speak, with no ambiguity, of the immense loss of force which Christianity sustains through these divisions. But there is perhaps a still more serious evil in the vagaries of hundreds of irresponsible evangelists who go about the country retailing the figments of their own excited brains as the pure gospel." The most eccentric missionaries are those belonging to the vast organism which Mr. Hudson Taylor has persuaded the British public to subsidise so largely. We need not dwell on the peculiarities of their evangelising methods : it is unfortunately true that "members of other bodies may look askance at the doings of the China Inland Mission as an English Squire does at those of the Salvation Army, but they cannot dissociate themselves from them in the eyes of the Chinese, who make no fine-drawn distinctions where foreigners are concerned." After all, the "Candid Friend" is a little sweeping in his condemnation of this organism, which numbers in its ranks many men, and women too, who mix nothing of the grotesque with their self-denying labour. But we are with him in condemning those who insist in binding burdens too grievous to be borne on the shoulders of the converts. There is no reason in insisting upon a severe Sabbatarian *régime*, or in repudiating those who use in moderation alcohol, tobacco, or even opium ; and most unreasonable is the condemnation of vegetarianism ; while the efforts made to induce the vegetarians to break their vows are inexcusable. "The breaking of an egg, innocent as it looks, is sometimes the means blessed to this end : and we read of wily old converts laying earnest siege to new enquirers in order that by some means they may be seduced into eating pork in their company, a sort of equivalent of 'taking the shilling.'"

"Such are some specimens of the excrescences of the new Christianity which is being planted in China." How a stricter discipline is to be maintained among Protestant missionaries is too large a question for the end of an article.

II.

Missionaries in China by a "Candid Friend" is the title of a remarkable pamphlet of 63 pages just issued from the Tientsin Press and which is on sale at Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai. Last

summer we had an attack on missions by a Chinaman who ignored the fact that Christianity is the mightiest institution on the face of the earth for the removal of sin and suffering, and who manufactured facts to suit his own theory. In this pamphlet we have no attack, as the writer freely recognises the superlative position of Christianity among other religions and the immense services rendered to China by many missionaries, but we have an exposure of the weakness of the methods used by the bulk of missionaries that reminds us of an electric search light. He goes round the missionaries' camps and examines their attitude towards the religions, the morals, the customs and superstitions of the country, and reveals a number of things that *certainly ought not to be*. In support of the views expressed, he quotes freely from a large number of the missionaries themselves, and he arrives at the very grave conclusion that "the propaganda has, over the whole country, aroused the hatred of the people, and the feeling shows no sign of abatement."

He suggests a remedy for this state of things, and that is, to change the *status* of the missionary from being under the protection of Foreign Governments to being under the protection of the Chinese Government, and he thinks that toleration would then be found much more easily than now when the Chinese are jealous of foreign control.

We believe, however, that the writer has gone beyond his facts when he attributes the present hatred of foreigners to the missionary propaganda, for the chief opposition is in Hunan where no Protestant missionary is at work at all, while a chief centre of progress such as Shantung, where between 6,000 and 7,000 have become Christians during the last thirty years, is more friendly than it ever was.

Besides, the very remedy which the author suggests shows after all that he feels the *main* cause of the missionary troubles is in the political *status*, and not in the imperfect presentation of Christianity which undoubtedly greatly hinders the progress of true Christianity.

To the Author's remedy we say "no" and "yes."

As China abounds with missionaries who would gladly help her in everything that is for her best interests, without pulling down one element of good that is in her own systems, how is it that,

notwithstanding the fine professions of the Imperial Edict, we have not heard of any genuine welcome given to any of these missionaries whom they praise, or even of granting Christianity equal privileges with the native religions? Is this not a proof that the Edict, like the toleration clause in the treaties, is only *forced* out of the Chinese Government, and that it is still at heart unwilling to own that any Christian or missionary can be really good? So long as the Chinese authorities and *literati* continue to calumniate Christians and to urge their fellow-countrymen to kill, boil and eat them, with little check, notwithstanding the apparently severe tone of the Edict, no sane government would dream of leaving innocent men and women to such tender mercies.

But, when we shall see the leading mandarins or gentry giving hearty welcome to some of our best missionaries in the provinces, and no open or covert opposition to any among the Chinese who wish to give free assistance to Christians to erect hospitals, establish schools, and promote virtue, and on the contrary plainly show their approval of such things, as does now almost every other nation on the face of the earth, then there would be plenty of missionaries perfectly willing to resign their present *status* and become *bonâ fide* Chinese subjects. When this single step of frank admission of the goodness of the best Christians and best missionaries is taken, the best Christians will have nothing to complain of, and the others whose obstructive and destructive measures "A Candid Friend" exposes will be rightly left out in the cold, in fact all the serious missionary troubles will be at an end, and China will have the full benefit of a Christian church without any internal harm or external political interference.

Meanwhile there can be no doubt that the progress of Christianity is immensely retarded by destructive publications written by men who do not know the difference between true Christianity and the popular view of it. The best missionaries are sure to hail this pamphlet as on the whole a great help to their cause; and if those other missionaries—who have never given a thought to the grave fact that they may be needlessly repelling a hundred for every one they attract—should also give it careful perusal and reform their methods, then this able pamphlet will have served one great end which the author evidently has in view.

"JUSTICE" ON CATHOLIC INDISCRETION.

SIR,—The recent riots in the different cities have been incited by inflammatory reports of murdered babies and human remains being divested of eyes and internal organs for medicine. How do these reports originate? There are two causes for their origin. One is found in the numerous foundling asylums established by the Romanists everywhere, which of course is to be commended as a good work in saving children from a life of starvation and villainy and in making useful citizens of them. The other cause is to be found in the custom the Romanists have of burying their dead on their premises, which is greatly to be deplored.

The Romanists of course are not to be blamed for the thousand and one reports concerning them, but by this unwise proceeding they certainly give the Chinese a handle for their rumours. Because others may differ from us in their opinions, it is not right and just on our part to condemn them, but when we see such scenes as those at Wuhu—where almost the first thing done by the mob after breaking into the Romanists' compound was to dig up a coffin and open it—and again at Tanyang, where the magistrate, after the riot, had bodies taken up as a proof of the truth of current rumours, we cannot but see the error of such a custom and that to use the compound for a burying ground is but to invite mob violence and place in jeopardy the lives of all foreigners residing in that place.

It is certainly the part of wisdom for the Romanists to change their tactics and do as they do in other countries, viz., buy property away from their dwellings, consecrate it, and there bury their dead. In this way the suspicious and excitable Chinese mind may be set at rest, valuable lives and property will be less endangered and other foreigners will not be implicated by the custom of one sect, which can readily be obviated by the foregoing plan. Did the French Consul mingle with the people of the interior and hear how they talk, it is very certain he would advise interring in graveyards apart from the residence.

I am, etc.,
JUSTICE.

Shanghai, 25th June.

THE RIOTS: THEIR REMEDIES.

THE PROCLAMATION OF VICEROY OF NANKING.

The Viceroy of Nanking has issued a proclamation denouncing the Ko-lao Society. He says:—The members of the Ko-lao Hui appoint their own leaders, secretly engrave false seals, distribute pieces of cloth (as proof of membership), make recruits, and commit crimes contrary to the established laws. Their guilt cannot be expiated even by death punishment. I have taken steps to discover and arrest them in every direction. Once captured and convicted the members shall suffer instant death, in accordance with the special laws which have been framed to punish secret societies, without mercy being shown. Still in the Ko-lao Society there are plenty who are willing members but at the same time there are also many ignorant people who have been duped and misled. These joined with the expectation of being assisted with money and food and clothing, and of being backed up in cases of disputes. They trusted blindly to the society's promises, and bought the cloth ticket. It is true that to enter the society is itself a crime punishable by the laws, but taking into consideration that their original intention was excusable and that they have only stepped into a trap prepared for their destruction, I am unwilling that the jade and stone should be indiscriminately consigned to the fire (the actually and apparently guilty should

be equally punished) just at this juncture of making arrests. Therefore by this proclamation I notify you, people of all classes, to take warning. Those who have bought the cloth ticket to become Ko-lao members, should take the earliest opportunity to retreat, burn the cloth ticket, repent, turn over a new leaf, enter into some other occupation, and become good subjects, so as to save their lives, or hand the cloth ticket to the authorities who will do the burning. Any one secretly informing the officials as to who the Ko-lao leaders are, when these are convicted, not only will be exempted from punishment, but will be heavily rewarded. Even if the leaders should themselves truly repent and come forth their past conduct will not be inquired into. Should they persist in their blind path from first to last then once apprehended they will know that the laws of the State will be dealt out to them to the last measure without leniency. They will then regret in vain. Let all wake up from their dreams and seriously consider this and not allow the good admonishing to be lost to them! Let the father restrain his son, the elder restrain his younger brother from falling into the clutches of the law!

29th day, 4th moon, 17th year of Kuang Hsü (5th June, 1891.)

THE PROCLAMATION OF GOVERNOR OF ANHUI.

The Governor of Anhui has communicated the following proclamation to the Wuhu Customs Taotai, by whom it has been posted:—On 6th June I received a despatch from the Governor Shêng of this province proclaiming the articles of the treaty and notifying you all as follows:—Since commercial relations existed between China and Foreign Powers, Imperial decrees have been repeatedly issued permitting foreigners to promulgate their religion in the interior and natives of all places and of all classes to embrace the foreign faith without restraint or interference. Thus the treaties between China and outside nations contain such clauses as “converts [to the foreign faith] are protected both in person and in property,” “converts enjoying their occupation without committing any fault are to be protected by the authorities.” “Chinese converts committing crimes contrary to Chinese laws are amenable to Chinese laws and punishable by the magistrates,” etc., etc. These arrangements are perfectly just, erring neither on one side

or the other. The different provinces have carried out these stipulations to the letter and of late years the people and the foreign religious orders have lived amicably. But on the fifth of the present moon, in the district of Wuhu, evilly-disposed persons under false pretexts created trouble, and gathering a multitude, occasioned a riot. They burned the churches and in the space of a few days the capital city of Ngankin was agitated by rumours, causing apprehension and suspicion in the minds of the people. There can be no doubt that the rioters at Wuhu spread these rumours with the hope of lessening the enormity of their guilt. I, the Governor, ordered both the civil and military officials to take special precautions, and the people of Ngankin remained quiet. The origin of the disturbance in Wuhu was two female doctors, Chu and Sü, treating a young child for a certain disease and applying medicine to render it unconscious for a time [so as to facilitate the employment of surgical instruments]. Instantly the rumour as to child stealing was circulated. The matter, of course, ought to have been inquired into. As the two females are both Chinese subjects they should, in accordance with the treaties, have been brought before the native Magistrates and be made amenable to Chinese laws. You, the people, instead of taking proper steps to cite the case before your authorities, but listening to the fabrications of evil-doers and being incited by them, took the occasion to commit incendiarism. You are indeed recklessly defiant and madly high-handed! I, the Governor, have issued stringent orders to capture and punish without fail the leaders of the riot. The Superintendent of the Nanyang trade (the Nanking Viceroy) has requested the missionaries to hand over to the authorities the two female doctors, who will be examined as to the true state of the case in question, so as to clear from your minds all doubts and suspicion. These things are all recorded. I still am anxious lest some inhabitants not distinguishing what is beneficial from what is harmful become again duped by rowdies and ill-intentioned ones; the articles of the treaties are proclaimed and you, people of all classes, are thus notified. After this warning let every parent instruct his son and every elder teach his junior to attend to his own peaceful occupation, not to believe in hearsay, not to harbour groundless suspicions and raise trouble against churches. Even when you may hear or see anything that appears to you to rouse suspicion, you ought only to report to the magistrates and await an

investigation. You must never take hasty action and create a disturbance, or you will only throw yourselves into the clutches of the law. Should any desperate character still dare to fabricate rumours and get up riots, he will be arrested and severely dealt with as a warning to all who rejoice in the misfortunes [of their country]. The love I feel for you is very great, and thus I am untiring in my admonitions. That the people and [foreign] religion will always exist in harmony, and quiet and happiness long reign in the land is my deep and earnest hope. Do you all obey this.

THE MEMORIAL OF THE TSUNG-LI YAMÊN.

The following is a translation of the memorial to the Throne by the Tsung-li Yamên on which the edict was issued (see below.) We understand that the Foreign Ministers have stipulated that it shall appear in full in the *Peking Gazette* in due course :—

The Yamên Ministers, on account of the riots against foreign religious orders that have occurred in the various provinces, request the Throne to issue stringent orders to the Governors-General and Governors to take immediate and urgent measures to restore quiet to the land and to prevent future disturbances. The memorialists hearing, in the first part of the 4th moon, that churches in Wuhu were destroyed, at once wired to the High Superintendent of Nanyang to despatch gunboats to suppress the riots and to give protection to the foreigners ; at the same time to send deputies to make investigations and settle the cases. Then at the same time, there were anonymous placards posted and rumours spread about Shanghai, Nanking, and other places. We also desired the provincial authorities to take great care and to devise precautionary measures. Afterwards a telegraphic message was received from the Nanyang Superintendent and the Anhui Governor to the effect that the trouble at Wuhu took its origin from rumours that female doctors belonging to foreign religious orders were stealing children after drugging them ; that the suspicions of the people could not be explained away ; that a crowd gathered to make trouble ; that upon this churches were burnt and destroyed ; that two rioters were executed and their heads placed on exhibition, and that the place has settled down to its usual quiet. Not long after, however, churches in Tanyang and in Wusueh in Hupeh were set on fire and pulled down, with the murder of two foreigners

in the latter place. The details have not been reported. Evil characters were causing trouble in Nanking and Kiukiang, but their attempts were frustrated and they were dispersed by the Government soldiers who were keeping watch and gave protection. If these disturbances continue the hearts of both natives and foreigners will be full of apprehension and distrust. The reason is this. Discharged soldiers and secret societies are to be found in every province along the Yangtze River. Anonymous placards are posted for the purpose of agitating and misleading the minds of the populace, so as to find a favourable opportunity to create disturbances. It is certain no peaceful and law-abiding people are guilty of these acts. The memorialists find that the religion of the great West persuades people to follow the paths of virtue. It has been promulgated in all the Western countries for many years. Since China commenced commercial intercourse with foreign countries, the treaties stipulate that, in all China, the believers and promulgators of the Roman Catholic and Protestants religions should one and all find protection both in person and property, and that they are permitted to congregate to offer prayers and to sing hymns. The hospitals for the sick and asylums for infants are all good works. Of late years in all the places in the different provinces visited by calamities there were many missionaries who contributed large sums and helped to alleviate the sufferings of the people. Their love to do good and their generosity in giving are certainly commendable. Though among the native converts good and bad are to be found, still they are subjects of China and are amenable to the jurisdiction of local authorities. In case of lawsuits and disputes missionaries cannot interfere, so that the people and religion ought to be able to live quietly side by side. Lovers of mischief often fabricate groundless rumours, and spread about and raise suspicion among the mass; and evil-disposed persons cause trouble under these pretexts with the hope of plunder. Unless strict precautions are taken it is to be feared that Chinese and foreign merchants and people may not be able to live in peace. This has an important bearing upon the state of the country. The memorialists beg the Throne to order the Tartar Generals, Governors-General and Governors of every province to proclaim to the people, warning them not to listen lightly to rumours nor to make trouble. In case anonymous placards are written and rumours are fabricated to mislead the

people, stringent and severe measures should be adopted to arrest and severely punish the authors. The local authorities are to afford at all times protection to the merchants, people and missionaries of all nationalities, and also their properties, with great care. Should their precautionary measures be ineffectual, or protection useless, let the higher authorities report them and have them cashiered or punished. As to the present outbreaks, the leaders of the Wuhu disturbance have been decapitated; the Governors-General and Governors of Liangkiang, Hukuang, Kiangsu, Anhui, and Hupeh, will be directed to discover, capture, convict and most severely punish the guilty leaders in connection with the riots at the other places so as to be a warning for the future. The previous unsettled cases of the various provinces let the Tartar Generals, Governors-General and Governors find means to settle as quickly as possible, and not permit their subordinates, apprehensive of responsibility, to cause further delay, so that matters which have accumulated may be cleared off.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

On the 7th of the 5th moon (13th June) the following Imperial Decree was issued:—The Tsung-li Yamên has memorialised Us on the disturbances occurring in the various provinces against (foreign) religious orders and requested Us to order the Governors-General and Governors to take immediate measures for their suppression, etc. The memorialists stated that in the 4th moon the churches in Wuhu, in the province of Anhui, were burned down by evil-disposed persons, and the churches in Tanyang (Kiangsu) and in Wusueh (Hupeh) were successively destroyed and it was urged that the leaders should be discovered and captured and stringent preventive means should be taken, etc. That the several nations are at liberty to promulgate their religions (in China) is set forth in the treaties, and Imperial Decrees have been granted instructing the various provinces to give protection at all times. Many years have passed by and the Chinese and foreigners have lived on friendly terms. How is it that lately churches have been burnt and destroyed almost simultaneously? It is certainly strange and astounding. It is only too obvious that there must be among the evil-doers some notoriously desperate characters who secretly plan, dupe, spread rumours and mislead

the minds of the people with the expectation that an opportunity may occur for plunder. Even the peaceful and good people have been misguided by and forced to join these rogues to aid in creating more momentous results. Unless severe measures are devised to punish and suppress [these malefactors] how are the laws to be upheld and how is the country to enjoy quiet? Let the Governors-General and Governors of Liangkiang, Hukuang, Kiangsu, Anhui and Hupeh at once command the civil and military officials to discover, capture, try, convict and execute the leaders of the riots as a warning to others for the future. The religion of the Western countries simply admonishes people to become virtuous, and the native converts are Chinese subjects under the jurisdiction of the local officials. The religions and peoples ought to exist peaceably side by side. The risings [against religious orders] no doubt took origin from the discontented class, who fabricate groundless rumours and create disturbance under false pretexts. Such cunning people are to be found in every place. Let the Tartar Generals, Governors-General and Governors proclaim and notify the people never to listen lightly to floating rumours and recklessly cause troubles. Any writers of anonymous placards manufacturing rumours to mislead the people are to be apprehended and severely punished. The local officials must at all times devise measures for the protection of the lives and properties of the merchants and missionaries of the several nations, and must not permit criminals to harass and injure them. In case their precautions are not effectual and disturbances occur, let the high authorities report the exact state of the case and have such officials cashiered. Let the various cases [of riot against foreign churches] in the different provinces still pending settlement be promptly arranged by the Tartar Generals, Governors-General and Governors, who are not to allow the subordinate officials to delay and procrastinate through fear of difficulties. Let this Decree be known to all. Respect this!

THE BLUE BOOK ON CHINA.

EDITORIAL.

The French mail has brought us the Blue Book containing the *Correspondence respecting Anti-Foreign Riots in China*, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty in July

last. It is a book of 34 pages and we can only summarise it to-day, and the first impression of the reader will certainly be that when a crisis does occur, the country is very well served by its agents here from Sir John Walsham down, and that—as indeed we know from many other indications—the Marquis of Salisbury has thoroughly appreciated the gravity of the situation. The first telegrams the Blue Book contains are those announcing the outbreaks at Wuhu and Wusueh, and it shows the vigilance of our Government towards British subjects abroad, that on 9th June telegrams were sent to the Consuls at Kiukiang and Hankow, “If you learn names of any British subjects who have received injuries in recent disturbances, telegraph them at once.” The English Catholics are not behindhand in their anxiety for the safety of Catholic missionaries in China, for on the 12th of June the Duke of Norfolk writes to Lord Salisbury :—

“I have been asked to beg you to consider the question of our Government taking some action with regard to the outbreak in China against the Catholic missionaries on the Yangtze-kiang.

“It is stated that the American and French Governments have made complaints, and have demanded protection for their subjects, and the parents of English Sisters of Charity, etc., who are out in those parts are anxious as to the steps being taken by England.

“I have no doubt you have the matter in hand, but I promised to write to you on the subject.”

The inclusion of this note in the Blue Book is an indication of the consideration the Roman Catholic Church in England enjoys, through its civil head the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Salisbury replies as follows, on the 17th of June :—

“I am obliged by your letter of the 12th instant, respecting the recent outbreak of riots at various places on the Yangtze-kiang.

“As far as I am able to judge from the reports received from our Minister at Peking and our Consular officers in those quarters, there has been no lack of readiness on the part of the Chinese authorities to take prompt action for the protection of foreigners and the suppression of disturbances, but I have consulted Sir John Walsham by telegraph as to whether there is occasion for further representations to the Yamén.”

Then follow Mr. Mowat's reports of the Wuhu riot, which are just what they ought to be, though it is curious that the mistake

should have been passed of calling H.E. Shên the "newly-appointed" Governor of Anhui, as he was appointed to the post in 1888. Mr. Mowat, we may note, draws attention to the prompt measures taken by Nieh Taotai. Then comes a telegraphic despatch from Sir John Walsham to Lord Salisbury, dated 21st June, which contains some very important paragraphs, contradicting altogether the idea that the Chinese Government "showed no lack of readiness to take prompt action" :—

. . . . "Joint action has been taken by the foreign Representatives, who have been continuously engaged in urging upon the Chinese Government the immediate adoption of most stringent measures to protect foreigners against the repeated outrages which have been committed on them. . . .

"An Imperial Edict was, however, published on the 13th instant. . . . *This Edict and its publication in the Gazette was obtained by us with great difficulty.*

"A great deal now depends on the manner in which the Imperial orders are executed by the high officials. *The Government at present seems powerless to deal with the situation*, of which they should begin to realise the gravity.

"For the present all questions of indemnity must stand over. *As the crisis may undoubtedly become formidable*, the Government have quite enough on their hands." . . .

This despatch alone (the italics are ours) is a sufficient answer to those optimists who have thought that we have exaggerated the gravity of the situation. The following is the substance of Lord Salisbury's reply, dated 2nd July :—

"I understand that, in your opinion, it is desirable to obtain the punishment of those most inculpated in the recent riots, and adequate measures for the protection of foreigners, before questions of indemnity for losses are considered. In this view H.M.'s Government quite concur, and they leave you full discretion as to the mode of urging the matter on the Yamên."

British residents in China generally might think at first on reading this that Sir John Walsham was hardly strong enough to have this discretion left to him ; but prone to delay and procrastinate as he may have shown himself in other matters, there is no reason to doubt that he has risen to the seriousness of the present crisis, and, as we shall see later on, that British interests are quite safe in his hands, when he once realises the importance of the

case. Following this comes a long despatch from Vice-Admiral Richards to the Admiralty, dated Shanghai, 23rd May, in which the Admiral recounts the riot news, and the measures he has taken to protect foreign residents in China. He forwards long extracts from the *North-China Daily News*, and includes a despatch from Consul Ford at Wuhu to Commander Tisdall, of the *Linnet*, in which Mr. Ford makes prophecies which events soon justified :—

“From information that I have this afternoon received, I am forced to the conclusion that the position of affairs all up and down the river is extremely critical, and that, unless some vigorous measures are taken soon to procure the punishment of the ring-leaders of the late riot, there will be further outbreaks if not here, at some other point on the Yangtze.

“It appears to me that a demonstration of force should be made without delay, if only to strengthen the hands of the Chinese authorities and give them courage to deal with the offenders. . . .

“The conclusion I have come to is based partly upon the appearance of more incendiary placards, which shows that the men who are causing the disturbance are gaining courage from their immunity from punishment so far, and also on the consideration that though there is a considerable body of troops now in the place, yet very little reliance can be placed on them, as they seem to be utterly devoid of any kind of discipline, and apparently even the authorities are not inspired by their presence with confidence enough to arrest persons who must be perfectly well-known to hundreds of people in Wuhu.”—The experience at Ichang fully confirms Mr. Ford’s opinion of the value of Chinese soldiers as protectors of law and order.

On the 10th of July Lord Salisbury sent Sir John Walsham a despatch, the substance of which was telegraphed, in which he repeats a telegram from the Chinese Government to the Chinese Minister, which the latter had read to Sir Philip Currie at the Foreign Office on the 4th July. The telegram briefly recounts the outrages so far perpetrated, attributing that at Wuhu to the action of “a doctor connected with the French missionary establishment,” which shows that the Tsung-li Yamèn is very badly informed, or is quite careless as to how it informs its Minister. The telegram mentions the arrests that had been made, and the punishments that had been inflicted, and goes on to say :—

"At the instance of the Tsung-li Yamên an Imperial Edict has been issued calling on the authorities to immediately investigate these events, and, according to Treaty, severely punish any persons who may be found guilty.

"Sir John Walsham has been to the Yamên and expressed great displeasure at the slowness of the action of the authorities.

"The Tsung-li Yamên have answered that, owing to the distance apart of the places where the disturbances have occurred, and the difficulty of immediately finding and arresting those who are culpable, the Yamên consider that no undue delay in enquiring into the matter has taken place. . . .

"The Tsung-li Yamên are desirous that the Foreign Office should instruct Sir John Walsham to show no undue impatience or feeling with regard to the matter."

When Sir Philip Currie told the Chinese Minister that our Government would not be satisfied with mere enquiry, the latter replied that due punishment would be inflicted, and in reply to other questions said "that there had not for many years been such an anti-foreign outbreak ; that he did not attribute it to any wide-spread feeling against foreigners, but to the machinations of the secret societies existing among the disbanded soldiery, the object of which was to stir up trouble against the Government."

On the 17th of July Lord Salisbury sent the following telegram to Sir John Walsham :—

"It appears, from a further message from the Yamên, which has been communicated to me by the Chinese Minister, on the subject of the anti-foreign riots in China, that besides the executions at Wuhu, two men have been condemned to death at Wusueh, and several mandarins have been degraded.

"The Yamên are apprehensive lest the excitement might be revived and increased, rather than allayed by further executions.

"According to the accounts which reach them from the spot, order and peace are no longer disturbed.

"They are now, apparently, fully alive to the gravity of the occurrences that have taken place, and I am inclined to accept their assurances in this respect as sufficient, if you are satisfied that the Chinese Government is in earnest."

There is a taint of weakness in this telegram which fortunately soon passed off, as four days after it was sent Lord Salisbury received Consul Gardner's full accounts of the Wusueh affair.

Too much cannot be said of the energetic way in which Mr. Gardner took this up, and the completeness with which the story is told. No generous man can read these details again without his blood boiling, but they are already well-known to most of our readers. Of the four officials at Wusueh, three behaved infamously, and one, the Lungpingtze, did his best, and his name, Tso Paiching, should be held in honourable remembrance. He did all he could to check the mob, and was himself wounded in trying to save Mr. Green, and had his official yamên destroyed. As to the Erhfu and the Makowtze, as well as the Chinese Customs official, the two first were actively hostile, the last merely too afraid to act ; as to the Makowtze, who, "when the ladies had taken refuge on his premises, had them driven out and exposed to the fury of the mob," it would be pleasant to know that he has received adequate punishment. Mr. Gardner gives a full report of his interview with the Taotai on the subject of the Wusueh murders, and Mr. Gardner spoke so clearly and so much to the point, that we wish we had room to reproduce the whole account. We give an extract from it :—

I.—"In the newspapers it is stated that these riots are caused by a secret society, whose object is not so much hostility to Europeans as hostility to their own Government, which it wishes to embroil with other Governments. Is there any truth in this?"

They.—"There is a good deal of truth in it ; but the actual rioters are generally local people, who are stirred up by these people."

I.—"It will be a serious matter for you if you don't succeed in defeating their object."

They.—"We don't understand you."

I.—"There are now in the river gun-vessels of four nations. Suppose four of the captains in their anger burnt a Chinese town down, China could not fight four European nations?"

They.—"Oh, that is impossible."

I.—"It is improbable, but not impossible. I happen to know that some of the commanding officers of several of these vessels would like to do so, and I myself am by no means certain whether it would not be best in the end, both for you and us, if they were allowed to carry out their wishes. It would sacrifice lives in the present to save them in future."

There is a sentence, too, at the end of Mr. Gardner's despatch which is worth reproducing :—

"I venture respectfully to submit that any comment of mine on these events would be superfluous, more especially as on a recent occasion, I ventured to state, for your Lordship's consideration, my opinion that, failing fear of war, our best means of insuring the safety of our countrymen in the interior of my Consular district, is causing it to be more disagreeable for the officials to neglect than to perform the duty of protecting British subjects." In a supplementary despatch received in London also on the 21st July, Mr. Gardner sends a little bit of pathos, which cannot fail to appeal to every reader : at the time the two ladies hiding in the hut did not know but that Mrs. Protheroe had been murdered, and the same fate might be theirs at any moment :—

"I think your Lordship might be interested in hearing one pathetic incident that occurred during the riot. While Mrs. Warren and Mrs. Boden were seated on the bed in the gardener's hut, they told Mrs. Protheroe's little girl of three years old, that she must be quiet and not talk, or they might be hurt ; the little thing did as she was told, and only stroked their faces from time to time."

Despatches from Mr. Mowat follow, recounting the Wusieh affair and containing a strong representation (on the 12th of June) as to the smallness of the British squadron in these waters, a representation that has had its effect. Then comes a despatch of 22nd July from Lord Salisbury to Sir John Walsham, recounting an interview which Sir T. Sanderson, of the Foreign Office, had had with Sir H. Macartney, in which the latter was told to warn the Chinese Minister, "that if public opinion once became alarmed and indignant in France and England, a cry for intervention might arise which might have very embarrassing and even serious consequences." Sir Halliday took this message and it was telegraphed to the 'Tsung-li Yamên. The latter replied they could not understand it at all ; they had executed two men at Wuhu, and condemned two to death at Wusueh and degraded several mandarins, and peace and order had been restored. "Her Majesty's Minister had been more urgent and severe in his representations than any other Foreign Representative, even than the French Minister, whose nationals were the principal sufferers. . . M. Ribot had accepted as sufficient and satisfactory the assurances given to him by the Chinese Minister, which were identical with

those . . . communicated to Sir P. Currie." Sir T. Sanderson's answer to this shows a better appreciation of the circumstances than we have given the Foreign Office credit for. He said :—

"British interests in China were larger than those of any other European country, and that you had probably been made aware, as he had certainly himself been informed by Consular officers recently returned from China, of a growing tendency amongst the Chinese population to think that the simplest way of stopping any foreign movement or institution which they disliked was a resort to popular outbreaks of violence, which they believed would have no unpleasant result to themselves, and would merely entail payment of a certain pecuniary indemnity by the Government. It would obviously, he said, be disastrous, both for the foreign communities and for the Chinese Government, that such an impression should get abroad."

The Blue Book closes with some more evidence taken by Mr. Hill as to the Wusueh murders, tending more to show that the Lungpingtze did everything he could for the foreigners, and a despatch from Mr. Mowat relative to the condition of affairs here in Shanghai on the 19th June. Then everything was quiet and expected to remain so : the Ichang affair has re-opened it all, and the despatch of an armed British force to Ichang—which is quite distinct from the visit of a gunboat which may be a piece of friendly courtesy,—shows that the local authorities are now thoroughly alive to the fact that, despite all its protestations, the Chinese Government cannot, however good its will may be, protect foreigners in China against its own people and soldiers. It also shows that our Government no longer cares to preserve the fiction that China should be treated as an equal by the civilised Powers.

Shanghai, 14th September.

MEMORIAL OF NANKING VICEROY ON THE RIOTS.

The following memorial on the subject of the recent riots in these provinces appears in the *Peking Gazette* of 23rd September, 1891 :—

H.E. the Southern Superintendent of Trade, Liu K'un-yi, and the Governor of Kiangsu, Kang Yi, submit a memorial in which they report the action that has been taken for the settlement of the various missionary cases which have occurred in the

Prefecture of Chinkiang and in other departments of the province of Kiangsu. During the fourth moon of the present year, in consequence of the dissemination of lying rumours, the missionary premises at Wuhu were burnt down, and then followed in close succession the burning and destruction of missionary property at Tanyang, Chinkuei, Wusieh, Yanghu, Kiangyin and Jukao. Officers were deputed to hold an investigation, and although the facts elicited showed that the rioting was more serious in some places than in others, the leading feature everywhere was the fabrication of baseless rumours by scoundrels lurking in concealment, who incited the populace to riotous proceedings, their object being to take advantage of the occasion to commit incendiarism and pillage and so cause a catastrophe of the gravest moment. In the various other districts of the province false rumours were subsequently widely circulated and anonymous placards made their appearance. The memorialists beg to observe that foreign missionaries, in establishing churches in China for the propagation of their faith, are acting within their Treaty rights, and that in carrying on at the same time foundling institutions and charity schools, they are doing nothing but evincing their devoted philanthropy. If scoundrels who have the audacity gratuitously to fabricate false rumours and spread trouble in such a reckless manner are not arrested and sharply dealt with as a means of allaying the popular suspicion, not only will harmony fail to be maintained between the ordinary people and the adherents of the foreign doctrines, but great harm will befall the country. On receiving the reports of what had happened, the memorialists caused stringent instructions to be issued to all their subordinate authorities impressing upon them the absolute necessity of using their most earnest endeavours to protect the missionary establishments within their respective jurisdictions, and at the same time directing them to arrest and punish severely according to law all criminal characters found circulating false rumours or causing disturbance. The Viceroy issued several proclamations inculcating earnest advice, and ordered his subordinates everywhere to summon together the local gentry and ask them to impress upon the people in their respective districts the necessity of maintaining a prudent attitude, and of not, on any account, creating a feeling of groundless alarm by lightly giving ear to false rumours. The various district officers concerned are assuredly deserving of punishment

for their failure to take adequate precautions beforehand. The troubles in the Soochow district began with the Tanyang riot and the Magistrate, Ch'a Wên-ch'ing, has accordingly been denounced and cashiered. The acting Magistrate of Wusieh, Liu Shu-jên, the acting Magistrate of Kiangyin, Sun Yi-shên, the Magistrate of Yanghu, Yeh Huai-shan, and T'ang Yo, the Magistrate of Chinkuei, have all been deprived of their buttons. Mo Ping-ch'i, the officer temporarily in charge of the Jukao district, who had only been three days at his post, has had a mark of disapproval placed against his name, and the responsible military authorities have been stripped of their buttons by way of warning and punishment. On the receipt of the Imperial Edict of the 13th June, the memorialists again issued proclamations in clear and explicit language for general information. The doings of these ruffians who manufacture false rumours for the purpose of creating trouble are so secret and mysterious, and their movements so perplexingly uncertain that their apprehension becomes a matter of considerable difficulty. The Viceroy has again sent secret agents in all directions to make enquiries, and has ordered the district officers to exercise surveillance over the tithing system, with the result that peace and quiet have prevailed during the past few months. The memorialists venture to think that the first essential in the way of remedial measures is that a good understanding should be effected between the ordinary people and the adherents of the foreign creed. In arresting and dealing with the offenders, it is absolutely necessary, in order to satisfy public opinion and to restore harmony between the Christian and non-Christian portions of the population, that the really guilty should be punished and that the punishment should be commensurate with the offence. From the successive reports received from the various district officers it appeared that all the criminals who had been arrested were found on examination to have been merely sympathisers present at the occurrence. The district officials were consequently ordered to act in concert with the deputies appointed for the purpose in having them again rigorously examined under torture, but without shaking their previous testimony. They have now been sentenced, according to their respectful degrees of guilt and under the severest clause of the law applicable in each case, to various forms of banishment in the *chun*, *liu*, and *t'u* grades, or to bambooing. To wait until the value of the property destroyed and

lost could be recovered from the culprits could not fail to entail an unreasonable delay and would not prove comforting to the missionaries. The Taotai at Chinkiang, Huang Tsu-lo, was accordingly directed to call upon the authorities concerned to provide the requisite funds and to arrive at a settlement of their respective claims with the missionaries. The Taotais and Prefects responsible in the matter again received stringent instructions directing them to enjoin upon all their subordinates the necessity of securing without fail the apprehension and punishment of the principal offenders so that the earnest desire of the Imperial Court to cultivate friendly relations with other Powers and to maintain peace and good order within its own territory may be duly fulfilled. The memorialists have kept the Tsung-li Yamên informed of the steps they have taken in the matter, and they now beg to submit to the sacred glance this account of the settlement of the missionary questions in Kiangsu and to solicit His Majesty's commands on the subject.—Rescript: Let active measures be taken for arresting the criminals who made their escape. They must positively be apprehended and punished. The Yamên concerned is to take note.

MEMORIAL OF NANKING VICEROY ON WUHU SETTLEMENT.

H.E. the Viceroy at Nanking, Liu K'un-yi, and Shên Ping-ch'êng, the Governor of Anhui, submit a memorial in which they detail the circumstances connected with the settlement of the Wuhu missionary case. During the fourth moon of the present year the missionary establishment at Wuhu was burnt and demolished by lawless characters who fabricated false rumours to excite the popular feeling. The place is a treaty port, with a resident Consul, and is a centre of resort for both Chinese and foreign merchants. On receiving news of the outbreak, the Viceroy sent repeated instructions by telegraph to the Customs Taotai at Wuhu, directing him to call upon the local civil and military authorities to take measures for affording due protection and for securing the arrest and punishment of the rioters. A gunboat was at the same time despatched to the spot to maintain order, and an expectant Taotai on the Kiangsu establishment, named Liu Tso-yü, and other officials were, one after the other, deputed to proceed to Wuhu

to co-operate with the local authorities in having the matter investigated and dealt with in a thorough manner. One of the memorialists, Shên Ping-ch'êng, happened at the moment to be returning from Shanghai to resume his post as Governor of Anhui, and arrived at Wuhu on the day after the riot had occurred. At that time all sorts of wild rumours were afloat, and the popular feeling was still in a very excited condition. The Governor gave fresh orders for the adoption of measures calculated to dissipate this state of alarm, and by way of redoubling precautionary measures, had reinforcements of troops drafted to the scene of the riot. A number of the rioters were arrested at intervals, and having been tried by the constituted authorities acting under the instructions of the Wuhu Taotai, Ch'êng Chang, and Liu Tso-yü an expectant Taotai on the Kiangsu establishment, their evidence and depositions were forwarded to the memorialists. Two of the prisoners, Wang Kuang-chin and Fû Yu-shun, were found to be members of a criminal confederacy who had planned beforehand the rioting, looting and burning, and in accordance with the regulations issued for the punishment of the adherents of seditious societies, instructions were issued for their immediate decapitation and the exposure of their heads at Nanking, Chinkiang, Shanghai, and other places, in order to convey a warning to others and to vindicate the majesty of the law. The remaining criminals who were present as sympathisers with the movement, were sentenced to imprisonment or to wear the cangue according to their respective degrees of guilt, and Ch'êng Chang, the Taotai at Wuhu, as well as the Magistrate, Wang Huan-hsi, were successively removed from office and recalled to the provincial capital. The officers who replaced them were required to trace and arrest those of the rioters who were still at large and to use their utmost endeavours to prevent any further outbreak. Repeated proclamations were issued by the memorialists couched in earnest language calculated to remove the popular suspicions. Wuhu is an important centre of traffic on the Yangtze, with a mixed population of good and bad characters, which renders the preservation of the peace there at all times a matter of the utmost concern. The military force at Wuhu being somewhat slender and insufficient for the local requirements, the Viceroy, after consulting by letter with his colleague, despatched General Tan Kuei-lin, with a battalion of Hunan troops, to take up a strategic position at the

port and remain there permanently for its protection. An expectant Taotai on the Kiangsu staff, named Ts'ai Chün, was deputed to assist the acting Customs Taotai, P'êng Lu, in coming to an arrangement with the missionaries respecting the buildings and property that were destroyed, but they failed to effect a settlement. As the Consul and the Bishop both lived at Shanghai, the Taotai there, Nieh Chi-kuei, was ordered to make a satisfactory arrangement on the spot with the French Consul-General, M. Wagner, and a settlement of the whole question has now been effected. To have waited until the sum required for payment of the indemnity could have been recovered from the offenders would have entailed considerable delay, and in order to wipe the case out of the archives, the acting Taotai at Wuhu, P'êng Lu, has been required to raise the amount in the first instance, and have it paid over to the missionaries. The Taotai and the Prefect have also been directed to call upon all their subordinates to exert themselves to the uttermost in affording adequate protection to all missionary establishments throughout their jurisdiction, and in order to second the efforts of the Government to strengthen the ties of friendship which bind it to foreign countries, and to maintain tranquillity within its own territory, a limit of time has been given within which the criminals still at large must be arrested and brought to punishment. The steps taken by them in this matter have already from time to time been reported by the memorialists in telegrams or despatches to the Tsung-li Yamên, and they now beg to submit to the Sacred Glance this memorial detailing the circumstances connected with the final settlement of the Wuhu missionary case. Let the concerned take note.—(Trans. of *Peking Gazette*, 17th November, 1891.)

MEMORIAL OF WUCHANG VICEROY ON WUSUEH SETTLEMENT.

The Viceroy (Chang Chih-tung) reverently submits a memorial, in which he implores the Sacred Glance, reporting the steps taken in connection with the settlement of the questions arising out of the destruction of missionary property and loss of foreign life at Wusueh in the province of Hupeh. The memorialist would remark that after the occurrence of the missionary troubles at Wuhu and other places during the fourth moon of the present year, great popular

excitement and widespread danger existed throughout the whole valley of the Yangtze, owing to the false rumours which were current in every direction. In repeated instructions which he issued to the civil and military authorities, the Viceroy strongly impressed on them the necessity of adopting secret and vigorous measures of a precautionary nature and of taking special care to provide for the protection of all places where foundling institutions existed in connection with the foreign missionary establishments. Wusueh is situated at a distance of 70 *li* from the district town of Kuangchi, the only officials stationed in the place being the sub-prefect of Wusueh and Huangchou, and the sub-district deputy magistrates of Lungp'ing and Makou. There was an English church there for preaching the Gospel, but no foundling establishment, and the ordinary people and the adherents of the foreign faith had long lived in harmony. On the evening, however, of the 5th of June last, a man named Au-yang-li-jan, who is a native of the Kuangchi district and a member of the Catholic religion, arrived outside the town of Wusueh carrying four children, which he said he was taking to the Catholic establishment at Kiukiang. Kuo Liu-shou and some other depraved villains who happened to notice the incident, erroneously imagined it to be a confirmation of the false rumours that had been circulated, and in a moment a crowd of noisy and turbulent people collected who, yielding to the false impression that the Wusueh missionary premises were places for the reception and nurture of small children, threw stones excitedly through the windows, with the result that a kerosene oil lamp in one of the rooms having been smashed, a fire broke out which spread and burnt down one of the foreign two-storeyed houses. The remainder of the buildings were likewise destroyed, and the rioters took advantage of the occasion to carry off sundry articles of property. The deputy in charge of the Foreign Customs station at Wusueh, an assistant sub-prefect named Hua P'in-san, and sub-district deputy magistrate of Lungp'ing, Tsou Chên-ch'ing, hastened to the scene of the riot to restore order, but they were both stoned and badly beaten by the mob. Two of the missionaries connected with the chapel, Baden and Prothero, had previously gone away, the former to Hsingkuo and the latter to Hankow, and only their wives and families remained in the Mission premises at Wusueh. A British subject named Green, who was a tidewaiter connected with the Foreign Customs station at Wusueh,

and a British missionary named Argent, who had been away elsewhere, set out, while the riot was still raging, for the scene of the fire to render assistance, and were immediately attacked and beaten to death by the rioters. The three foreign ladies of the Mission, with four children, made their escape through a back door and went first to the office of the Ma-kou-ssü. The deputy magistrate, Ch'ên Pêi-chou, seeing the turbulent and excited state of the mob, did not venture to receive the ladies and children, who were escorted in separate parties by the runners and soldiers of the sub-prefect and the deputy magistrate of Lungp'ing to the yamên of the sub-prefect of Wusueh and Huangchou where they were received by the sub-prefect Ku Yün-ch'ang. The three ladies also were found to have been beaten and wounded by the rioters on the way, and they all started for Hankow on the following day. On receiving news of the occurrence the Viceroy at once issued instructions to the civil and military authorities urging the arrest of the principal criminals, and detached land and naval forces from Wuchang to proceed to the spot to restore order and afford protection. The Taotai at Hankow was also directed to send Commissioners by steamer to Wusueh to have the remains of the two foreigners who were killed duly cared for, and forwarded to Hankow, and high civil and military functionaries were deputed to proceed to Wusueh for the purpose of maintaining order and restoring tranquillity. By this time the magistrate of Kuangchi, P'êng Kuang-hsin had already reached Wusueh and had made a large number of arrests. Excluding those who were found to be innocent and were accordingly released, there remained ten prisoners who were real culprits. The Viceroy specially deputed an expectant prefect named Yü Kêng to proceed as Commissioner to Kuangchi and join with Li Tang-yü, the prefect of Huangchou Fu, in having a thorough investigation and trial conducted under their orders by the magistrate of the district. The Customs Taotai at Hankow was directed to address an official communication to the British Consul requesting him to procure the depositions of the male and female members of the Wusueh mission, and to furnish an account of the injuries sustained by the foreign ladies in order to complete the evidence in the case and have it thoroughly investigated. In due course of time the Consul forwarded copies of the depositions, adding that the injuries sustained by the ladies

were very serious, and that one of them was, in the opinion of the foreign doctor who examined her, probably rendered incapable of bearing children. The subsequent investigation showed that the incident really originated in the suspicions entertained respecting the conveyance of children and that the riot was caused by depraved characters inflaming the popular feeling. The disturbance occurred very suddenly without any warning, and it was not in any way a case of incendiarism for the sake of plunder. The fact that two of the missionaries were absent at the moment the trouble took place, having gone away some days previously, proves that it was not a premeditated attack on the mission. Further there was an iron safe on the premises which always contained valuables and which was not carried away. This demonstrates beyond a doubt that plunder was not the object of the rioters.

Kuo Liu-shou admitted that, on seeing the children being carried away by the Catholic convert, he gave credence to the false rumours that had been circulated, and originated the disturbance in which Tai Yen-yü and other disorderly characters joined, destroying the Mission property and the furniture, and severely beating the Customs *weiyüan* and the deputy magistrate. It was really he who originated the affair by inflaming the popular passions, and it was he who stabbed the foreign Customs tidewaiter Green, who went to extinguish the fire, several times with a knife. Tai Yen-yü admitted without reserve that he had taken an active part in the riot and had killed the foreign missionary Argent by stabbing him several times with a knife. The Criminal Code provides that, where a number of people beat another to death, the one who inflicts a severe blow upon a fatal part shall suffer strangulation. In the present instance, the two criminals, in a matter which did not concern them, stirred up the popular passions and created a riot which involved the death of innocent people. Their behaviour was of a blood-thirsty and daring nature which gives it a resemblance to that of local bandits and a degree of gravity which does not attach to ordinary cases of assault and battery by a number of people. The Viceroy recently had the honour to receive the Imperial Decree of the 13th of June last, in which the High Provincial Authorities were commanded to lose no time in issuing instructions to the civil and military officials concerned, for the apprehension of the ringleaders in the riots

and, on proof of guilt, for their decapitation as a warning to others. These were the instructions under which the Viceroy considered it his duty to act.

Kuo Liu-shou and Tai Yen-yü having been both convicted at the trial held by the Commissioner, prefect and magistrate, of being the principals in this case, it was not advisable that there should be the least delay in carrying out their sentence, and the Viceroy accordingly, in order to vindicate the majesty of the law, issued instructions for their immediate decapitation, and for the exposure of their heads by way of warning at the scene of the commission of their crime. Instructions were issued to the prefect of Yü-k'eng, who acted as Commissioner, to co-operate with the prefect and the magistrate in examining and taking the depositions of the eight accessories who took part in the attack upon the deceased, beat the foreign ladies and carried off miscellaneous articles of property. T'ao Ch'un-ts'an, Tien Tê and two other soldiers, four converts, including Fang Hsin-hsing, and Wang Ch'i-tso, Mr. Green's cook, all of whom had been indicated by the British Consul as important witnesses, were confronted with the accused, and the trial having been conducted in due form, sentence was passed according to the provisions of the criminal law. The report submitted by the Commissioners contained the following depositions:—

Hu Tung-êrh admitted that he had struck the tidewaiter, Green, over the head with an iron bar; Hu Shih-shêng confessed to having picked up a stone and struck the tidewaiter Green a blow on the head; Lu Erh-ti stated that he had thrown a stone and had wounded the missionary Argent; Hsü Fêng-ch'un and T'ien Fu-êrh confessed that in the thick of the crowd they had jostled the foreign ladies, but did not know whether the latter had sustained any injuries in consequence. Hsü Fêng-ch'un added that he had picked up sundry articles which he afterwards threw away. Ch'ên Lien-shêng admitted having picked up some odds and ends of things which he also threw away. The two prisoners Fan Ssü-mei and Yü Lao-wu, both confessed that on hearing of the disturbance they thought of going to pick up what they could find, but could not crush their way to the spot owing to the crowd of people. All the evidence was given without any reservation and the accused stood the ordeal of repeated and rigorous examination without flinching. Their testimony was not contradicted in any way by

the important witnesses who were confronted with them, and there was not the least concealment of the truth in the evidence that was given. The Court therefore proceeded to pass sentence on them. The following are the clauses of the Criminal Code applicable to the case :—

(1) Where a number of people enter into a plot to make a combined attack upon a person, the one who inflicts a severe wound upon a vital part, is, as explained above, sentenced to be strangled. Of the others who have joined in the attack, those who are proved to have wounded the person with a gun, knife, or other deadly weapon, are liable to perpetual banishment to regions in immediate proximity to the frontier.

(2) Robbery with violence to the person is, in the case of a principal, punishable by decapitation after the usual period of confinement, and in the case of an accessory, the punishment is reduced one degree, and the culprit is branded. The punishment is on the same scale if an accidental fire furnished an opportunity for the commission of the robbery.

(3) For injuring a person in a fray and bringing on a serious illness which prevents her from bearing children, the punishment is 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3,000 *li*.

(4) Where advantage is taken of a fire to commit a robbery, those of the criminals who have been guilty of murder or violence to the person, or have accumulated a large amount of plunder, are dealt with by the statute applicable to such offences. Such of them as have only shared in the plunder and rendered themselves liable to bambooning and banishment in the 1st degree receive a punishment higher by one degree than that provided by the law for an offence of the kind where no fire occurred, the principal being sentenced to 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3,000 *li*, and the accessories to 100 blows and banishment for three years with branding.

(5) Where a person intends to commit a robbery, but does not actually get possession of any of the spoil he is to be tried for a grave misdemeanour.

(6) For a misdemeanour, where the circumstances are of a serious nature, the punishment is 80 blows.

In the present case Hu Tung-êrh, hearing that a fire had broken out in buildings occupied by foreigners, went to the scene of the fire armed with an iron bar, and seeing a crowd of people

surrounding and beating the foreigners, struck a foreigner over the head with the iron bar. An iron bar comes within the category of deadly instruments mentioned in the law. Hu Tung-êrh has therefore been condemned to banishment to a place close to the frontier under the statute which prescribes this form of punishment where a number of people attack another and one of the assailants inflicts a wound with a lethal weapon.

Hu Shih-shêng and Lü Erh-ti, seeing that a fire had accidentally broken out in foreign buildings, proceeded to the spot, and finding a number of people pursuing and beating the foreigners they picked up stones with which they struck and wounded the foreigners. The sentence upon both men is that they receive 100 blows, be banished to a distance of 3,000 *li*, and have the character "robber" branded upon their right fore-arm, this being, the punishment prescribed for an accessory to the crime of wounding in a case of robbery. Hsü Fêng-ch'un, when the fire broke out in the foreign premises, went to see what was going on, and happening to meet foreign ladies in the surging crowd of people, he followed and jostled them. He stated that he did not know whether they had received any injuries, but that the ladies were injured has been fully ascertained by the officials deputed to deal with the case. Treating the matter therefore as one in which the injuries sustained had such serious consequences as to preclude the bearing of offspring, the punishment prescribed by the law is 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3,000 *li*. The culprit is likewise liable, under the law applicable to robbery in connection with a fire, to a sentence of 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3,000 *li* for having picked up some articles of property. Where the law prescribes the same punishment for two offences, sentence is pronounced upon only one of the two counts. Hsü Fêng-ch'un has therefore been sentenced to 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3,000 *li*, and the characters for "robber" are to be branded upon his right fore-arm. T'ien Yu-êrh jostled against the foreign ladies in the crowd of people, and although he stated that he did not know whether they had received any injuries and denied having picked up any articles of property, yet for jostling the foreign ladies he is liable to the same punishment as Hsü Fêng-ch'un, and he has accordingly been sentenced to 100 blows and banishment to a distance of 3,000 *li*, in accordance with the statute which prescribes this punishment for beating a person and causing

her such serious harm that she is rendered incapable of bearing children. Ch'ên Lien-shêng, hearing that a foreign house had caught fire, went to see what was going on and found a crowd of people surrounding and beating the foreigners. According to his own statement, he took no part in the attack, but he admits having picked up a few articles. The law is that when advantage is taken of an accidental fire to commit robbery, those of the criminals who have shared in the spoil and have become liable to bambooning and banishment in the *fu* degree, shall receive a punishment higher by one degree than that applicable to mere robbery, and that the accessories shall be condemned to 100 blows and banishment for three years. Ch'ên Lien-shêng has accordingly been sentenced to 100 blows and banishment for three years, and is to have the characters for "robber" branded upon his face. Yu Lao-wu and Fan Ssu-mei learning that the foreign buildings had caught fire and that riotous proceedings were being directed against foreigners, bethought themselves of going to pick up some articles of furniture, but did not actually get possession of any of the plunder. They have each been sentenced to receive eighty blows under the clause of the law applicable to a misdemeanour of the kind.

Rewards have been offered for the apprehension of the offenders still at large, and as soon as they are arrested, steps will be taken for having them tried and punished in accordance with the law. The sentences were duly revised by Yun Tsu-yi, the acting Judicial Commissioner of Hupeh, on receipt of whose report the Viceroy issued instructions for having them carried into effect.

The acting deputy magistrate of Ma-k'ou, Ch'ên P'ei-chou, did not venture, in view of the excited state of the mob, to receive the foreign ladies and children and, as a consequence, they were beaten and injured. In this he acted very improperly and the Lieutenant-Governor has already been instructed to have him removed from office and deprived of his button as a warning and punishment. The sub-prefect of Wusueh and Huangchou, Ku Yün-ch'ang, is really an officer charged with the conservation of the river embankment, and has never had any responsibility of a detective nature. As he has no special aptitude for the latter kind of work, and as it is essential that the sub-prefect should act in concert with the magistrate in taking active measures for the apprehension of the remaining criminals, Ku Yün-ch'ang

will be recalled to the provincial capital and another official will be deputed to act as sub-prefect, with instructions to institute inquiries with a view to the apprehension of the offenders who are still at large.

The severe sentences passed in accordance with the law upon the various criminals were officially communicated through the Taotai to the British Consul, who, in acknowledging the receipt of the despatch on the subject, stated that they were all just and adequate, and that he had no objections to offer to them. The above is a summary of the facts connected with the arrest and punishment of the rioters.

The death under such circumstances of two unoffending men, the tidewaiter Green and the missionary Argent, is exceedingly sad, and it is right that a grant of compassionate allowances should be made, in order to manifest the earnest desire of the Government to befriend the innocent. It is proposed therefore to give the families of each of the deceased a sum of \$20,000. No ill-feeling has ever existed between the missionaries at Wusueh and the people of the town, and the present instance, the riot in which the Mission property was destroyed, arose from suspicions and false rumours which had no connection with them, and was in no way caused by the missionaries. It is right therefore that the authorities, by way of showing their sympathy, should provide them with funds for rebuilding the premises and indemnify them for the property that was lost therein. The amount has been fixed on a liberal scale at \$25,000. A sum of \$65,000, equivalent to, say, Tls. 45,000 has been arranged by the Commissioner of Customs in consultation with the Consul and with the latter's approval, as the total amount to be paid in satisfaction of the various claims arising out of this case. The Consul has reported the matter to the Minister and is merely awaiting a reply to enable him to receive the money and close the case. The above is a summary of the measures taken with regard to the issue of a compassionate allowance and the rebuilding of the missionary premises.

The memorialist would observe that the riots which have occurred with such frequency in the valley of the Yangtze during the last few months in connection with missionary establishments have, for the most part, originated in the practice of receiving and bringing up young children which gives seditious characters an

opportunity of fabricating all sorts of false rumours to work upon the feelings of credulous and ignorant people. A disturbance suddenly breaks out and before order can be restored a great catastrophe has occurred. After the riot at Wusueh the Customs Taotai at Hankow, acting under instructions from the Viceroy, addressed an official communication to the various Consuls and asked them, with a view to removing all grounds of suspicion, to direct the missionaries to cease for a time receiving young children into their establishments, on the understanding that they should resume the practice as soon as all pending cases were settled and the popular excitement had somewhat subsided. The Consuls having all agreed to the proposal, the Taotai was further directed to draw up in consultation with the Consuls regulations providing for the periodical inspection every month of missionary institutions by officials and gentry deputed for the purpose. If compliance with these regulations can be secured on the part of all missionary establishments, all grounds of suspicion will be removed and further riots are unlikely to occur. The memorialist has issued stringent instructions to the civil and military authorities directing them to keep a careful watch from time to time, and in the event of their discovering any further anonymous placards circulating baseless rumours with the object of stirring up sedition, they are to offer rewards at once for the arrest of the culprits, who will be severely punished under the instructions contained in the Imperial Decree of the 13th of June last, so that all attempts at incipient rebellion may be crushed.

Of the cases that remained unsettled there were only two British ones—the first being that of a disturbance which Hsü Hui created against the missionaries in the Prefecture of Têan, and the second relating to a dispute which a convert named Lan had with the members of his Clan respecting the retention of his name on the family register. Both have been brought to a close and their settlement has been reported officially to the Consul by the Taotai under instructions from the Viceroy. The memorialist has submitted a report on the whole case to the Tsung-li Yamên and has forwarded the depositions and confessions taken at the trial of the guilty parties to the Board of Punishments. He now reverently submits to the Sacred Glance this memorial in which he

reports, in conjunction with his colleague, T'an Chi-hsün, the Governor of Hupeh, the settlement of the Wusueh missionary case. Rescript: Let the Yamên concerned take note.—(Trans. of *Peking Gazette*, 17th October, 1891.)

PROCLAMATION OF KIRIN TAOTAI AND NOTE
ON DR. GREIG.

The Rev. James Carson, of the Irish Presbyterian Mission, Newchwang, to which Dr. Greig belonged, sends to the *North-China Daily News*, from K'uanchêngtze, a translation of a proclamation issued some time ago by the Taotai of Kirin, giving the result of his investigation of the charge brought against Dr. Greig. Mr. Carson writes that the proclamation had only just reached him, although posted up in Kirin more than a month, and the agent of the Mission had considerable difficulty in procuring a copy. It is interesting as giving the Chinese version of the affair, and corroborates in all important particulars the account of the outrage which has already appeared. Of course it is considerably modified and toned down.

Dr. Greig has been ordered home by the doctors whom he consulted in Shanghai and in Chefoo, they being all of opinion that it will take a year at home to restore him to health.

PROCLAMATION.

On the 5th day of the 7th moon of Kwang Hsü (9th August, 1891), I received orders from His Excellency Tartar-General Ch'ang, deputing me to investigate the alleged case of kidnapping of the lad Yau Chao-boá.

Accordingly I summoned into court the plaintiff Yau Kwei-ch'ang, father of said Yau Chao-boá, corporal in the General's Guard, together with those of the same garrison who assisted him in the search for this lad and others—six in all.

These witnesses were all separately and carefully interrogated, with the following result :—

It appears that Yau Chao-boá, &c. were at the public school on the 3rd of the 7th moon; when about noon of the day in question they were dismissed for dinner. Because study was found to be very irksome they resolved to run away from school and escape to Kuanchengtze, there to enter business.

The lads left the city of Kirin by the Paerhho gate, and by a circuitous route reached the Erhtaoling road where they accidentally met with a foreigner Kao Chi-shan (Dr. Greig) and his assistant, who were riding and driving. These the children followed along the road. The foreigner put up at Tasweihea in the inn belonging to Ch'iao Lin. Yau Chao-boa and his companions also arrived at the same village. Here the scholars were recognised by a former companion, son of Tung Yung-hia an apothecary. And the latter, because of the lateness of the hour, brought them into his house, where he questioned them closely as to their destination. They all agreed in stating that they were proceeding to Kuanchengtze to learn business. No mention of undue influence. Finally, he lodged them for the night with the intention of next morning returning them to the city.

Yau Kw'ei-ch'ang on the disappearance of his child made enquiries in every direction, but could find no trace of him; quite unexpectedly, however, he met a man called Liō returning from K'uanchêngtze, who informed him that he had passed some half dozen children at Laoyuling in the company of the foreigner and his party. Yau Kw'ei-ch'ang, on hearing this, suspected that the foreigner had decoyed the children and was carrying them off. Accordingly, with Ma Yü and others of the guard, three in all, he hastened late at night to Tasweihea; and there, from the picket-station, was joined by Chang Yang-ts'ai and two others who proceeded with him to the inn of Ch'iao Lin.

There they found the foreigner and his assistant, but did not see the lads. Whereupon they imagined that the children were somewhere secreted, and asked what had become of them. The foreigner and his party pleaded ignorance. Yau K'wei-ch'ang was now still more suspicious. And in a momentary fit of passion beat and bruised the foreigner and his assistant with the backs of their swords and riding whips. Their sole object in doing so was to so frighten them that they would produce the lads. The assistant declared that he had seen six children at Shiaosweihea (5 *li* from Fusweihea) but did not know what had become of them.

At daylight Yau K'wei-ch'ang, still in quest of his child, found him and the other in the apothecary's shop. After learning all the particulars of the case he and his party returned to the city and to his superior officer accused the foreigner of having decoyed his child.

Inasmuch as the case was referred to me by his Excellency I summoned all parties into court and took their evidence. It was clearly proved that Yau Chao-hoa and the other scholars had played truant, and were afraid of being punished ; and there was no ground whatever for the charge of enticing them brought against the foreigner. Tuh Yung-hen and Ch'iao Lin also appeared before the Court and their testimony tallied in every respect with the foregoing. Moreover, Yau K'wei-ch'ang himself now confessed that he had acted wrongly and begged to be punished accordingly.

Let it be borne in mind that China treats foreigners with great grace and condescension ; and that the Middle Kingdom has been on amicable terms with Foreign Powers for many years. Whatever foreigner travels in our land is protected to the utmost of our power and treated with the greatest consideration. If the foreigner were guilty of such a grave offence as child-stealing he would render himself liable to be deported. The present Taotai would rigidly carry out the law as in duty bound ; and on no account abate the rigour of his punishment from the fact of his being a stranger.

If, on the other hand people bring a false accusation and trump up a cause of offence punishment will likewise be inflicted ; they will not be allowed to escape.

In the present case Yau K'wei-ch'ang, because he lost his child and could not find him, suspected the foreigner of having induced him to follow him through undue and evil influence.

In the heat of passion and without satisfying himself by clear enquiry he forthwith assaulted the foreigner and his assistant ; and afterwards brought a false charge against him. Really, a grave mistake was committed !

Therefore in addition to punishing Yau K'wei-ch'ang and others as by law provided, I feel it my duty to issue this proclamation for the information of all.

Consequently this notification that soldiers and citizens alike may be put in possession of full particulars.

Hereafter let each one endeavour to do his duty and be law-abiding in the hope that peace may prevail between Chinese and foreigners.

Do not wilfully create disturbance, and bring upon yourselves
condign punishment.

Let each and all give particular heed and obey.

A Special Notification.

Translated by JAMES CARSON.

K'uanchêngtze, Newchwang.

VICEROY CHANG CHIH-TUNG AND GOVERNOR OF HUNAN'S REPORT TO THE TSUNG-LI YAMÊN.

INVESTIGATION OF CHOU HAN'S CASE.

The Governor-General Chang Chih-tung and Governor of Hunan report that they have investigated the charges made against Chou Han of issuing libellous placards and forging official documents. In the first instance a despatch was addressed to them by the Tsung-li Yamên, which mentioned the offence which had been committed against the laws of the country, the manifest desire to cause disorder, the horrible indecency of the songs and pictures in question, and their dangerous effect in stirring up the people to commit outrages. Both in the interests of international comity and as a matter of internal administration, it was necessary that the offenders should be sternly dealt with. Later telegrams from the same department indicated Chou Han and three book-sellers at Ch'angsha as the issuers of large numbers of these placards, and dwelt on the fact that the late riots were all caused by the dissemination of false reports. The matter had already been put into the hands of the Hunan Chief Justice, when a further telegram in March was received from the Yamên urging promptness. The Governor-General then, through the Yamên, obtained the Emperor's permission to send the Hupeh Grain Taotai to join the Chief Justice in dealing with the affair. These two officers have now presented their report. Under their orders the Prefect of Ch'angsha ascertained that Chou Han was a Taotai on the Shensi staff, promoted on account of military service. He had belonged to Ninghsiang Hsien, but was often in Ch'angsha, where he published virtuous books under the name of *The Hall of Precious Goodness*. The three men mentioned by the Yamên, Cheng Mou-hua, Tseng Yü-wen and Ch'en Chü-tê, all kept printing shops, but Tseng Yü-wen died during the past year. Cheng Mou-hua on being interrogated, said that he knew Chou Han.

The latter had never been his partner, but had stayed with him a few days last year ; at times his talk was very wild and he was like a madman. Deponent had heard that the blocks for his books were cut by Tseng Yü-wen and Ch'en Chü-tê. The last mentioned was then examined. He had cut blocks for Chou Han for good books such as *The Successful Rearing of Foundlings* and others similar. The printing was done by the purchaser. There were many workmen in his shop ; they knew nothing of books ; they did the work brought to them and took the money, without enquiring anything about the customer. Deponent could not remember if any of them had cut blocks for the books and pictures of the authorship of which Chou Han was accused. Finally a man from Tseng Yü-wen's shop was questioned. He said that his master had cut blocks for Chou Han. They were for good books. He could not remember if any of them were abusive of foreign religions. When his master died the shop was closed and the workmen dispersed. In the meantime the two Commissioners had sent deputies to Ninghsiang to find Chou Han and bring him to Ch'angsha. They returned with the information that Chou Han had come back to his home eight years ago, but he soon afterwards went off with his wife and children and had not been there again. They brought with them, however, some of his relations and neighbours. The evidence of these witnesses was to the effect that Chou Han had not been at home for six or seven years ; but of late he had been subject to temporary illnesses which had an effect on his brain. He talked nonsense and had spiritualistic fancies, being a great believer in divination by the *planchette*. He had never believed in foreign religions, but he did not publish songs and placards. They thought that both in this matter and in the forging of public despatches designing persons must have made use of his name, as that of a person in high position, in order to attract more attention. The Commissioners, though they failed to ascertain who was the writer of the placards, felt it their duty at any rate to secure the destruction of the blocks. Rewards were therefore offered to any one who would bring them in, and a promise given that the bearers of them should not be punished. By this means thirty-one blocks were secured, many of them much defaced, evidently by people who feared that they might get into trouble for possessing them. The witnesses from Ninghsiang were then re-examined, but their evidence was to the same effect as already

stated. Then the printer Ch'en Chü-tê was summoned again. He declared that his shop was one of long standing. He had many workmen and many customers. In the accounts a customer's surname alone would be entered, or very likely work would be ordered through a third party ; and so nothing could be traced by looking at the account books. He really could not say whether some of the workmen in the shop had cut blocks for any of the books mentioned. If so, the order had been taken without his, the proprietor's knowledge. The other printer Cheng Mou-hua persisted in denying that he had executed work for Chou Han, but spoke again of his fits of madness. The Commissioners being aware of the gravity of the case, were determined to spare no trouble, and therefore had private enquiries made by the local authorities. It was established beyond doubt that Chou Han had gone away from Ch'angsha ; and those who knew him, while denying that he had published anti-Christian books, all spoke of his fits of madness, which had of late been worse than before and accompanied by great irascibility. Indeed it seemed to the Commissioners, from the evidence as to his state of mind, that if found he could not usefully have been subjected to examination. On the strength of the general evidence, the Commissioners ascribe both the libellous publications and the forged letters to persons who made unauthorised use of Chou Han's name and they mention that the supposed letter to the Governor of Hupeh never reached that officer at all. But the evidence from all parties as to the wildness of Chou Han's mind and behaviour is such that the Commissioners think he should be reported for punishment. Cheng Mou-hua is blameworthy for admiringly consorting with a man whom he acknowledges to have been mad. The same is the case with Ch'en Chü-tê who kept no check upon his workmen, and permitted them to execute orders without supervision, thereby allowing trouble to be caused. It is therefore proposed that these two men should be punished for their improper conduct by a flogging of eighty blows and three months' wooden collar, and their shops be closed in perpetuity. At the same time the local authorities have been desired to institute a strict search through all the province for the real authors of the libels and forged documents.

The memorialists represents that the preaching of Christianity is permitted by treaty, and it is of their own free will that Chinese

become converts; that if there be anything improper or against treaty in the missions it should be reported to the authorities for joint action; and that baseless reports should not be spread. Chou Han, though acquitted of the offences charged, still by the conduct above described has enabled others to make use of his name for bad purposes. They therefore propose that he should be temporarily cashiered, and kept at home under surveillance, without being permitted to visit the provincial capital. If his mental state is improved and his conduct becomes exemplary, his case might be after a time taken into consideration again. The memorialists further recommend that the sentences passed upon the booksellers be confirmed. The thirty-one blocks which were discovered have been destroyed by the Hankow Taotai in the presence of the Consul at that port. Referred to the Tsung-li Yamên.—(Trans. of *Peking Gazette*, 28th and 29th May, 1892.)

THE TSUNG-LI YAMÊN MEMORIAL.

Prince Ch'ing and the Ministers of the Tsung-li Yamên present a report on the above matter. Their memorial, except for a few lines, is simply a recapitulation of Chang Chih-tung's statements, and an endorsement of his proposals. The Prince and Ministers state that their attention was called to the printing at Ch'angsha by a letter from Mr. von Brandt in November, and by Sir John Walsham in January, who said at an interview that a copy of the productions had been sent by the Consul at Hankow to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in England. They remark on the freedom of any who wish to become Christians, and on the gravity of the case in question, because of the troubles which spring from the dissemination of false tales. They beg that Chang Chih-tung's report may be adopted. Decree issued previously. — (*Ibid.*)

IMPERIAL DECREE.—CHOU HAN CASHIERED.

The Tsung-li Yamên has been desired to report on a memorial concerning the case of issuing placards and forging official documents in Hunan. The Yamên recommends that the proposals of Chang Chih-tung be adopted. Although Chou Han has not issued placards or forged official documents, still he, an official

in the Government service, by his wild language and insane conduct has enabled ill-disposed persons to make use of his name and excite the public by fabricated stories. He therefore cannot be held guiltless. Let expectant Taotai Chou Han be cashiered forthwith. Let him further be compelled to return to his home and be kept under the strict supervision of the local authorities, who will not allow him to go abroad or cause trouble. The remainder of the memorial is approved.—(*Ibid*, 21st May, 1892.)

APPENDIX.



Hunan:

A RECORD OF A SIX WEEKS' TRIP.

IF the various provinces of the empire, Hunan is perhaps the one with which we foreigners are least acquainted, and yet it is by no means one of the least important. It is situated right in the centre of China ; has an area of 84,000 square miles—equal to Great Britain—and an estimated population of over twenty millions. It is shaped like a mulberry leaf, the stalk of which is the Yangtze, with its now almost daily steamers ; and its ribs the four main rivers the Siang, the Tsz, the Yuen, and the Li, which discharge into Tungting lake. These with their numerous branches give ready access to all parts of the province. Its boundaries are skilfully drawn around their tips.

In many respects it is a remarkably self-contained province, producing nearly everything the people require, and forming a little kingdom by itself. It is chiefly known, however, to us as a province which is almost inaccessible from the anti-foreign disposition of its inhabitants, but which produces in large quantity coal, iron, timber, tea, oil, tobacco, rice, etc., besides the best soldiers, and the biggest and finest mandarins in the empire. The only foreigners resident in it are a small garrison of Roman Catholic Fathers who have held the fort a few *li* from the city of Hengchow Fu for between the last two and three hundred years. As to travellers, the lamented Margary and the learned Richthofen passed through it ; also a too early scientific swallow, named Mr. Ma, who turned up about sixteen years ago looking for the best route for a railway from Hankow to Canton. He found it too, for

there is no other which for directness, evenness, or promised abundance of traffic, can for a moment come into competition with the one traced by him. Let the fact be remembered to his credit when the railway gets built.

Of Protestant missionaries, many have visited it, or crossed it, but of persevering workers in it, it has had but three. First, in the order of time, myself, Mr. Chi, a humble member of the tribe of peripatetic sellers of good books. Then Messrs. Wu and Li, two gentlemen connected with the China Inland Mission. They spent many years in hard self-denying effort to find some place, no matter how insignificant, where they might be allowed to live and attempt settled work, but without success. Mr. Li lost heart, and left the mission field; but Mr. Wu persevered until he died two years ago in a boat. Little is known of all he did, and all he suffered. The best work is often done by those who seem to have no inclination to say much about it. So too it was with Mr. Mo Ya-ko, a B. and F. man, who last year dragged his worn-out body to a solitary mission station in Szechuan where it now rests in peace. Few have ever heard of Mr. Mo; yet for twenty-five years he travelled in almost every province of the empire. His journeys would have made the reputation of half a score of F.R.G.S.'s, but they were never written, save by the recording angel. The noble army of martyrs still goes marching on, but not as a rule with trumpet and drum, so the world, which is so busy making a noise about its own affairs, seldom hears its tread.

On applying to Her Majesty's Consul for a passport last March, I thought it right to tell him that we were bound on a visit to the departments and cities of Ch'angsha Fu (the capital), Heng-chow Fu, and Paoking Fu; and that in these regions the authorities had got into the habit of contending that a passport for the province could never mean the particular place at which one happened to be. He kindly undertook to have this put right. The result, however, was that no passport was forthcoming, but instead a request from the Taotai that Mr. Chi should be informed he must not go to these places. H.M.'s Consul declined to do this, and insisted on the passport, but after waiting a reasonable time, he still did not get it, but only the information that the matter had been referred by the Taotai to the Viceroy, and was under his consideration. Still more waiting and then H.M.'s Consul sent in a fresh application. Meanwhile the time at our disposal for the

journey was rapidly slipping away, and our boatmen were weary waiting. As no one could tell how long the authorities would keep on considering,—probably just as long as we were willing to wait—we resolved to leave without the important document in question. In favour of such a lawless proceeding there was much to be said. The Chinese officials consider matters very slowly. Practically they were denying the passport without undertaking the responsibility of saying they would not grant it, and if this were once successfully done, it would be often attempted to the great inconvenience of all travellers in the interior. If the passport were obtained I could have it sent after me; and, if not, I knew that where I was going it did not matter much whether I had one or not. Lastly, supposing they caught me and sent me back in disgrace, it would then become possible to attract beneficial attention to this matter; and as to punishment it would be a most interesting point to decide who it was that ought to go to jail, the Taotai, the Consul, or I! So making due arrangements for a messenger to follow us at the latest possible date, we started.

In these central provinces the action of the native authorities with regard to passports is varied. In Hupeh, and Anhui, go where one may, a passport is never asked for, and there is seldom any occasion to produce one. In parts of Kiangsi, Szechuan, and the west generally, it is demanded at every city, and generally carefully copied, no matter how often they may have seen it before. In Hunan they have no wish either to see it or its bearer, and it is the traveller himself who brings it out unasked in endeavouring to demonstrate that he has certain rights which they ought to recognise.

The passport problem is one which the mind of the ordinary district magistrate has not yet fully mastered. If it merely gives permission for a foreigner to move about unmolested as long as he behaves himself, and the people have no objections, he does not see the necessity for any document; but what the passport may mean over and above this is the thing which puzzles him. Failing a passport, other papers may be found to answer just as well. A friend of mine used his certificate of registration as a British subject as a passport with most satisfactory results. He did so in perfect good faith. Finding it was an article he had to provide himself with at an expense of \$5 a year, and that it bore on the words:—"This certificate of registration must be carefully kept by

the party in whose favour it is issued, if he would avoid delay and inconvenience while resident or travelling in China," he very excusably jumped to the conclusion that it was a passport, and the Chinese never told him that there was anything wrong with it. When his friends endeavoured to enlighten him he absolutely refused to be illuminated on the strength of the document itself, and when, at last, facts were too many for him, he wished to be informed what then he was expected to do it. This information he lacks to this day; and as such bewilderment is not unreasonable it might be well if H.M. Government would have "directions for use" printed on the back of these registration certificates. Some "parties" might be put to serious inconvenience by a mistake of this kind.

Going slowly up the Yangtze in a native boat gave one plenty of time to speculate on whether the passport problem might not in turn prove too tough for even the strong mind of our Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, and he find it necessary to pass it on to Peking, in which limbo it could safely rest for evermore; or whether, now we were actually off, they might not think it best to grant it. It was granted. Before we reached the Tungting lake my messenger overtook us, by means of one of the many steamers now plying on the upper Yangtze, so when we entered the province we were fully authorised to proceed, "to be protected, and treated with courtesy."

The first Hunan city at which we called was Yochow Fu. It occupies an elevated, highly picturesque situation at the mouth of the Tungting lake, and is well-known to foreigners. In former years the people there used to stone all who came that way with the utmost impartiality; it is only within the last year or two that they have learned to deny themselves that pleasure. The shops and business places are all outside the walls in a suburb on the south side; within the walls there are only a few residences, and the usual official buildings and temples, otherwise it is an empty shell. Notwithstanding, the authorities for a long time were strongly opposed to our entering it. Even after we were able to stay and work in the suburb in peace any attempt to enter a gate was sure to lead to an uproar. When, at last, we obtained "the freedom of the city" and found nothing there, it reminded one of the Scotsman who fought so long and vigorously in defence of an empty purse that the highwayman declared "had there been but

sixpence in it he would have killed me." Yochow is now quite quiet, and may be visited by anyone without trouble.

Between it going south and the next city, Siangyinchien, lies the whole breadth of the Tungting lake, 240 *li* as the Chinese reckon. As is well-known, this lake is simply an immense reservoir in which the high waters of the summer season are stored up to a depth of thirty feet, but which drains almost dry in winter, save for the rivers which cross it. We notified the magistrate of our arrival at Siangyin by sending our card to the *yamèn*, a proceeding which was contrary to our usual practice, and opposed to good policy ; but which was made necessary in this case by a promise made on our last visit that we should give them warning next time we came back. The card brought down a deputation of *yamèn* satellites in charge of an oily-mouthed writer who was commissioned by the district magistrate to say all manner of good things about my books, my nationality and myself, and he said them well ; but the sum of the whole matter was we must go away at once, as there was an examination on, and the people of that city were remarkable even in Hunan for their fierce and uncontrollable disposition. To this we replied in equally complimentary terms, that we had been there frequently and all through the city, that the people were amongst the best in the province, and although there was an examination, yet with such an able and experienced magistrate as Mr. T'wan at the head of affairs, there was no fear. We really could not think of passing the city of H.E. Kuo Sung-tao, the first Ambassador to our mean country, without paying it a visit. To these arguments there was no possible answer, so that party left. Next came three water policemen told off to protect us, but as no danger threatened from any quarter, we gave them a card to show they had done their duty, and persuaded them to return to the bosom of their families. Shortly after, half a dozen soldiers arrived in a boat, in charge of some one who insisted on remaining invisible inside. Their business was to drive us away ; they began shouting and swearing and hammering on our boat, while a gruff voice from the depth of theirs kept hounding them on to "beat them," "kill them," "drive them away." We told them to do it quietly, and recognising an old acquaintance in one of the enemy, asked him what was up now. He said their *liao yeh* insisted on their driving us away, and they did not know how it could be done. We requested the favour of

an interview with the said *liao yeh*, and when we got at him he proved to be the same oily-mouthed rascal who so recently had been in charge of the courtesy department ! " You then are the paper tiger ; no wonder you were ashamed to show your face," exclaimed we with much scorn, and watched to see him hang his head. But not a hang : shame and a *yamên* man are seldom to be found under one hat. He laughed heartily, and treated the matter as a splendid joke.

It was now late, but we had still another deputation to receive ; this time a blue button military man of the blunt but horiest stamp. He represented that they were really in a fix with 1,000 country students and as many followers on their hands. They had been brought together to be examined for places in the Viceroy's new college of the Liang Hu at Wuchang, and that the subjects included mathematics, and other matters foreign to the teaching of the classics, at which they were very ill-pleased. Personally he did not believe a single one would get a place, and they were very much afraid that it would not conduce to the public peace should they happen to meet with me. He reminded me that I knew what Siangyin students could do—they had driven us into the *yamên*, where we remained prisoners from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon on a previous occasion, and sadly damaged the building in trying to get at us while there—would we not oblige them by going away, and coming back some other time ? As it is one of our principles in Hunan to keep out of the way of the students as much as possible, and as, in a case like this, we had no option, for the *yamên* would have kept its diplomatics agoing as long as we remained, we consented to leave, but pointed out that the only trouble we had seen this time had been of their own manufacture. Mr. Bluebutton was delighted. He was most anxious for information about the telegraph which the governor was about to introduce into the province. He understood very well, he told us, how the messages might fly on the wires through the air, but how they could be sent through the water without being damaged was beyond his comprehension. If the supply of gutta-percha fails, as threatened, I told him, our own clever men would be equally at a loss on this point, which pleased him greatly.

The position which the *literati* occupy in China is peculiar, and the part they play in affairs is constantly forced upon one's attention. As all know, those of them who have obtained their

degree are freed from the usual method of control, the bamboo, at the disposal of the district magistrate. This practically places them above the law, and a similar privilege is claimed by them, not only for all members of the fraternity, whether they have degrees or not, but for the servants and coolies which they bring with them to an examination. It is not at all a bad idea that there should be some counterpoise to the almost unlimited and irresponsible authority of the district magistrate, over ordinary affairs and ordinary folks, and nowhere could such be better found than in the great body of the learned. The result, however, is that in order to check one possible tyrant thousands, and tens of thousands, of petty tyrants are created who infest every city, town, and hamlet, in the empire. When they come together for an examination their behaviour is often such as makes it hard to understand how the people can endure it. On such occasions respectable families leave the city altogether in large numbers. Women must keep themselves more closely secluded than ever. Business men and officials have to make any sacrifice rather than offend them, while the luckless foreigner may look out for stormy times. In saying this one does not accuse the men so much as the system. The student class in every country is proverbial for its rowdy character, and let it be provided that this propensity for mischief might be indulged in with impunity, and the result would not be beneficial to good government anywhere. As anti-foreignism is the badge of all the tribe, more or less, it is well for foreigners to keep out of their way, both for their own sake, and that of the district authorities, who, in case of an uproar, will have to pay the piper, although they may never have ordered the tune.

From Siangyin to Ch'angsha, the capital, is a distance of 135 *li* up the Siang river, a noble stream about half a mile broad with a minimum depth of six or seven feet. By the aid of a good north wind we soon ran the distance, besides spending a while in the half-way town of Ching kang, famous for its good rice and bad morals. Ch'angsha occupies a fine situation, on the right bank of the river, along which it extends for a distance of 15 *li*; the face presented by the city wall occupying about half that space in rear of the riverside street. The city is almost square, and has five gates, four of which open towards the river. It is a place of considerable trade, and the city is well filled with many fine streets, grand temples, and colleges, besides the usual official buildings

belonging to a capital. Its grand peculiarity, however, is that, like the forbidden city at Peking, and the kingdom of Tibet, it is one of the few places now left in the whole world which no foreigner may presume to enter. It is perhaps the most intensely anti-foreign city in China, a feeling kept up by the *litterati* with the full sympathy of the officials. Here are the head-quarters of that villainous press whose unspeakably filthy anti-foreign productions, lately drawn attention to by Mr. Richard, are widely circulated in all the provinces, and have given rise to numerous anti-foreign riots resulting in much suffering, and destruction of property. Here also, strange to say, are the head-quarters of not a few officials who have held high office in foreign countries, or in connection with foreign affairs. Perhaps more officials who have been abroad could be found in Ch'angsha than in any other city in the central provinces.

Our first visit to Ch'angsha was paid thirteen years ago, just on the back of the issue of the Margary proclamation. We got into the river and as far as the capital unobserved and one bright autumn morning we stepped ashore at the landing in front of the great west gate, in company with a native helper, and hopeful of being able to accomplish some work before the authorities came on the scene. Our stay was brief. Almost immediately a great shout of "foreign devil come," "beat him," "kill him," etc., was raised. There was a grand rush of people from all quarters, a good deal of hustling, tugging, and throwing of things, and before we could recover from our bewilderment we were in the hands of a dozen sturdy soldiers, being taken back to our boat to give an account of ourselves. We were soon convinced that we had better take our departure, and attempt to carry on operations elsewhere. Next time we tried the plan of staying in our boat for a while, in midstream opposite the city, in order to receive visitors; a plan which had answered well in other hostile places. Out here it was a complete failure, for no one came near us; and after three days spent in doing nothing we came away defeated again. In those days, with the scare of the Margary matter fresh upon their minds, to be a British subject was to be somebody, so on a third visit, accompanied by a friend, Mr. Wu, the authorities proposed that we might come to the great landing and sell books from our boat, provided we did not seek to go ashore. We agreed, but even for this they required three days in which to make the necessary

arrangements. These mainly consisted in covering the city with placards, some being very elaborate, some brief and pithy, but all to the same effect, namely, that on the morning of the 13th two foreign devils would come to the great *matou*, and every man must bring bricks and stones to beat them to death.

As the fateful day approached we discovered that it was not in the programme we should cross the river at all. Our boatmen had been scared, or bribed, and nothing would induce them to leave the quiet place we were anchored in on any such errand. As to getting another boat the authorities laughed at the very idea, assuring us that no one there would risk life and property in such a venture. A boat, notwithstanding, was placed at our disposal, and that in such a remarkable way as convinced us it was the Master's will that we should see this thing through. Our men were ashore endeavouring to engage a boat of any kind, but the attempt appeared to be hopeless, for all had been warned officially to have nothing to do with us, when they met with an old Christian who had several times tried to pay us a visit, but had been turned back—as all non-official visitors always were at Ch'angsha—by the numerous guards who were watching us. His name was Li, a boatman connected with the L.M.S., and known to us by report. Happening to be there on business, and knowing the difficulty we were in, he wished to tell us that his boat was at our service. Before the cocksure authorities knew what was on foot we had Li's boat alongside, and Li himself, beaming with pleasure, engaged in having our belongings transferred to it. Not a single stipulation did he make as to what we might or might not do with his boat, nor as to what he would receive for the service; and yet, like a certain poor widow we read of, he seemed to be casting away "all the living that he had."

By the hour appointed we were ready. I shall never forget the scene. It was a brilliant sunny morning, with a brisk cool breeze blowing up the river. The whole frontage above and below the great *matou* had been cleared of the ordinary boats, and a row of gunboats, with here and there a still larger craft full of officials, occupied their places. The sloping bank was packed full of a dense crowd of human beings; there were thousands and thousands of them. The silk dresses of the students, the gay uniforms and banners of the soldiers, and the sunlight flashing from their weapons, afforded a play of colour wonderful to behold.

Now at last Ch'angsha was about to receive the gospel, and that in what is supposed to be the grand old orthodox fashion. The Bible was about to be blown into it by the cannon's mouth, and hammered home with convincing blows of long-handled cleavers, broad-toed tridents, and other slaughtering tools peculiar to the Chinese. No doubt the hearts of the missionaries were palpitating with very joy at the sight of such an abundant and unexpected answer to many earnest prayers. Not so. The missionaries were as grieved as they could be over this display for which their share of the responsibility was simply the being there, and had it not seemed their duty to remain they would gladly have allowed the grand performance to fall through for want of the principal actors.

We were at anchor on the other side of the river right opposite, and the hour arranged for crossing was ten o'clock. Punctually to a minute Li's anchor was lifted, the sail raised, and over we went, accompanied by our four escorting gunboats. As we drew near we heard a yelling such as it falls to the lot of few to hear, a grand howl of execration from ten thousand throats of fellow men. It sounded like something unearthly. When we came within range down came the missiles, stones, bricks, broken implements, and domestic utensils; everything throwable in fact. We were under this shower about as long as one might count twenty, and then the performance had gone as far as it was intended it should. We were bundled into the escorting boats alongside, and carried out of range in a moment. Old Li never let go the rudder, but sailed his boat out after us, as he had sailed her in, as calmly as if such showers were a matter of daily experience with him. There was nothing more to be done or said, so we willingly left one of the grandest theatrical entertainments ever got up,—at Ch'angsha anyhow. The scenery was all real, and on a colossal scale. Such ancient battle-scarred walls, towers, and temple roofs never appeared on any stage. The dresses were splendid, the actors countless and all in earnest, the object of the play was to show the fierce ungovernable disposition of the Hunan people when they smelled the blood of foreign men, and the gigantic efforts their authorities were prepared to make in discharge of their treaty obligations.

Li shovelled the rubbish out of his boat by the bushel, and it was found that astonishingly little damage had been done, either to person or property; a few insignificant bruises and breakages

was the sum total. It never seemed to strike him, then or afterwards, that he merited any special praise or pay. Good old man! I have not seen him for years. He seems to have sailed away into the unknown; perhaps he has crossed another river, and heard the Master's "Well done." After this experience we passed and repassed Ch'angsha often, but troubled it no more; meanwhile my friend Mr. Li thought he would try what could be accomplished with the aid of the native dress. He contrived to get inside the city—the only foreigner who has yet done so—one evening at dusk, undetected. But they discovered what he was next morning; and although none saw him go in, there were plenty who saw him out, and they swore by the gods of war and literature that if he played them such a trick again he would not live to tell the tale.

But time works changes even in Hunan. As the result of a visit to the province at the end of last year I was led to conclude the people were much more amicably inclined than they used to be. Wondering whether this held good also with regard to the "tougher" places with which I was acquainted, I considered it my duty to go and find out; hence the journey. In one respect we soon noticed a most hopeful sign, in the fact that the authorities were not nearly so feverishly anxious to keep their eye on all our movements. We were permitted to reach Ch'angsha without being taken in charge, and this was promising. As we anchored once more in the evening, in the old spot, over against the city, intending, on the following morning, to repeat the experiment of thirteen years before, I cannot deny that I found myself very much afraid, and with no liking for the task before us. Whether it was sheer cowardice, or due to the fact that residence in the East unstrings one's nerves, I do not know, but the feeling was intensely painful, and practically unfitted me for the undertaking. There are none so quick to note the slightest touch of timidity and try to play on it, as the Hunan roughs. For this there was but one cure. I was to "lift mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help." The help came through the word which Christ addressed to the sinking Peter when he volunteered to walk upon the water, an effort he had no particular call to make, "Oh thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" I remembered that what prevented Peter's walking from being a success was his allowing his attention to be taken up with the winds, "When he saw the wind boisterous, he

was afraid"—and withdrawn from his Lord ; as if he would not have sunk just as speedily in a calm, but for His aid. The matter was now quite plain to me. I had allowed "the winds" to occupy my mind to the exclusion of all besides.

The Lord had been for the moment forgotten in the matter, as if we had not been in anxious circumstances often enough before and never found Him fail us ; or as if we had any reason to suppose His power would fail us now. Reviving faith in Divine help removed the fear. We were enabled next day to walk into that nest of hornets with as little trepidation as into one's own house ; and all the rest of the journey we were entirely free from it. I write this because it may help another timid one in like straits.

The following morning the friendly north wind blew freshly, and after breakfast quickly carried us over to the city. We stepped ashore, my two assistants and I, and began our work in the riverside street. The day was threatening, so it was not so crowded as on our first attempt, and to our great joy we found the people in good humour, and quite friendly. Talking and selling we came at length to the small West Gate, and saw before us a long, straight, busy street, hung with handsome signboards, and crowded with people all intent on their own business. It had been our intention to leave the city severely alone, as long as we were allowed to remain unmolested in the suburb, but this sight proved too tempting. Only fifty yards more and we should be openly through the gate, and within the walls. Policy said "Turn away, you are doing well ; wait till you have been over all the streets outside." But in such a case policy has a poor chance. We turned towards it, and as we did so the soldiers on guard sprang to arms, and drew themselves up on either side to keep us out. The officer in charge came forward to meet us, and ordered us off. We tried to reason with him, but he said he had instructions to keep "foreign devils" out, and we had better go away quietly. As the best thing open to us we followed his advice, and returned to our work in the riverside street. This, however, was now at an end ; we were immediately set upon by a crowd of roughs, who stole our books, hustled us about, and made it clear that it was time for us to be off ; so we managed to slip down to the river, got into a sampan and rowed away.

The results of the morning's work were about one hour's peaceful conversation with the people on their own streets, about

one hundred books sold, and as many more stolen. Not a great deal certainly, but yet the most that has been as yet accomplished at Ch'angsha. Till the city gate incident, the people were friendly enough, but as soon as I left the officer, according to my men, he began railing and reviling, and so started off the roughs. To the authorities at Ch'angsha I would make humble petition in much the same terms as Pat used when he met the bear in the backwoods of America. "Oh saints and holy angels," said he, "help me, but if you won't help me, please don't help the bear." If they would help us, or even simply refrain from hindering us, I think some headway might now be made. As we had no wish to waste time in a round of diplomatics with the officials, as soon as we got back to our boat we took advantage of the good wind, and continued our journey up the river.

What is the cause of the special hostility of the Hunan people towards foreigners is a matter on which it is not easy to obtain much light. Certainly none of the provinces have seen so little of the foreigner, or had less reason to complain of him. The explanation, as invariably given by themselves, is to the same effect as Dr. Watts' explanation of why dogs delight to bark and bite, namely, because "it is their nature to." Amongst the common people it seems to be due to a variety of causes and a good deal of it may really be put down to their disposition, which is turbulent. The fact that so many in every crowd have been soldiers in their day, perhaps accounts for this. Next, they cultivate a good deal of the feeling which *Punch* expressed in his picture of "There goes a stranger, Bill; heave half a brick at him," doubtless a survival from the days when the words for stranger and enemy were synonymous. But the main cause seems to be the teaching they received during the Taiping rebellion. As is well-known, Hunan generals and soldiers were chiefly instrumental in putting that down; indeed, they believe they did it all themselves single-handed, and thus saved the Throne and Empire. Foreigners supposed that they too had a hand in this work and speak of Ward and Chinese Gordon, and the great assistance rendered by the British and French Governments, for which the Imperialists ought to be eternally grateful; but of all this they have never heard in Hunan. They only know that foreigners gave rise to the rebellion, and then took a mean advantage of the Government being in difficulties to attack it on their own account. But Hunan never lost heart,

They were prepared as soon as they had finished off the rebels, to come and utterly exterminate the "devils." It was not found convenient to carry out this latter item of the programme, but the idea was deeply lodged in the mind of the Hunan brave that every foreigner was to be his lawful prey. If one trains up an animal to rush at, and worry some other animal at sight, it takes some time to forget the lesson. There is a good deal of this kind of animal in the Hunan man, but he is forgetting; a generation has passed since then, and the common people are no longer specially hostile save in every large crowds.

As to the *literati*, their hostility seems to be a kind of patriotism, that kind whose chief characteristic is an utter contempt for all other peoples save themselves, and a desire to show how easily they could whip them. They are strongly anti-everything foreign, because they are strongly pro-everything Chinese, and dangerous because they run no risk of punishment. But they too are getting sadly bewildered in these days. Small official steamers now run to Ch'angsha—there were two there on our visit—the telegraph is being introduced, and the very purity of the examinations contaminated by foreign nations.

As to the authorities; their hostility, where any is shown, admits of an easy explanation. Personally they are just as indifferent to our preaching and book selling as the mandarins in other provinces, who, as a rule, "care for none of these things," but they are really very much afraid lest any mischief should befall us while under their jurisdiction. They believe foreigners are fiery, and their people they know are explosive; so to bring them together without special precautions they consider would be like letting off fireworks in a powder magazine. I have heard that some years ago they were instructed by the Throne to prevent the settlement of foreigners in Hunan, but, without this, the other reason alone is quite sufficient to account for their action, both in hindering our coming, and hurrying our going. The best cure for this state of matters is to be found not in the consul but in frequent and brief visits; every care being taken to avoid anything like a disturbance. This gives them confidence, and once they are satisfied that we are not likely to give rise to an uproar they leave us to our own devices. In this way a great number of wild Hunan cities have been tamed, so that present visitors to them

finding all so quiet now are inclined to accuse their predecessors of having drawn the long bow in their accounts of their earlier experiences.

As soon as we reached our boat, after being expelled from Ch'angsha, we started off up the river, anxious to avoid coming into contact with the authorities, and the consequent wasting of time in useless diplomatics. The breeze held good, so we were able to reach Siangtan Hsien, ninety *li* distant by nightfall. This is a place of immense size, and as a trading centre comes nearest to Hankow of any place in the central provinces. It stretches along the left bank of the river in a half-moon for a distance of eighteen *li*, and boats are anchored in tiers four or five deep along the whole frontage. There is probably no other place in China, not an open port, where so great a volume of trade is done. It possesses one Roman Catholic place of worship, but, as far as I could learn, no foreign priest, nor are such ever seen by the people.

Our experiences here have been varied. Once a grand demonstration was attempted after the Ch'angsha pattern, but it was not nearly so well managed. From make-believe it passed into earnest, and the mob came into actual conflict with the authorities. There were blows exchanged resulting in many bad bruises, and some cuts, the scars of which still remain. We did not wait to see who won, but departed while the fight was at its warmest. Victory, however, declared in favour of the powers that be, and on our return they were all full of the doughty deeds they had done that day. But just as, as Lamb tells us, when in ancient times the Chinese people were being rendered houseless by the supposed necessity for burning down a house in order to obtain roast pig, a great genius arose who showed them how pork could be cooked by a less ruinous method; so at Siangtan some sage must have pointed out that it was not necessary to have a pitched battle, with all its risks and unpleasantnesses, in order to drive away a foreign devil. After the experience of the fight we confined our operations to the boat, and on various visits, anchored some 200 yards from the shore, disposed of thousands of books there. But one time, in passing Siangtan, in company with an eminent and highly reported D.D., we thought we might venture on a call. We found no trouble on shore until certain men arrived from the yamén, with the request that we should return to our

boat, and meet the authorities who were waiting us there. We did so, and while still engaged in discussing matters, a great smoke was raised on shore, and the fire gongs sounded all over the city. This brought together an immense crowd which, there being no fire to attend to, found amusement in throwing stones at us. To avoid this we pulled out and anchored in mid-stream ; but hardly had we done so when a great shout directed our attention up the river, and behold ! there was coming sweeping down upon us a big gun junk full of men armed with long-handled ladles. For ammunition they had a goodly row of buckets such as Chinese farmers carry home from market with them, and they evidently meant business. There are some things which foreign flesh and blood cannot face. We did not need a second look, but with our own hands got up the anchor and sail, and hurried away as fast as the wind could take us. From the time the authorities got hold of us till we were in full retreat, there elapsed about an hour.

Siangtan possesses one unusual advantage, from the foreign book-man's point of view ; it has a large number of fine open spaces where he may collect a crowd in peace. One of the chief difficulties in working these new cities is the lack of this, and the consequent crowding in the streets to the interruption of all other business. But at Siangtan the *matous*, or landings from the river, which are numerous, are large empty spaces where a crowd of hundreds of people can stand without interfering with anyone. At eight o'clock in the morning we stepped ashore from a sampan at one of these, and carefully selected the shady side, so that the sun might shine in the eyes of the expected crowd, we mounted a stone with our back to a wall and awaited the progress of events. We had hardly spoken a dozen sentences to the few folks we found there, when the people came pouring in out of an alleyway like water out of a sieve. For half an hour we were able to keep on talking, and selling a great many books, when they got beyond control, so we slipped into our sampan again, and rowed away to another *matou* some distance off, where we repeated the performance. Once we thought it wise to cross the river, but only to recross further up and begin afresh in a fresh neighbourhood. About two o'clock, however, the soldiers came upon us, as we were busy in the streets, with the old story of the authorities waiting for us on board our boat, and back we had to go. When we reached it we found all ready for a start ; and a gunboat told

off to escort us to Hengchow. In such cases nothing is to be gained by being nasty, so we ceremoniously thanked them for their care, assured them we were entirely unworthy of it, and begging that should we come back again they must not think of putting themselves to so much trouble, we told our skipper to start. Captain Liao with his gunboat accompanied us some ten *li* when he discovered that he had forgotten something for which he must go back, so telling us he would soon return he departed, and so, thought we, here endeth the protection and courtesy of Siangtan.

There may be those who wish to know by what right we persist in forcing ourselves into places where we are not wanted, throwing official persons into such a fluster, and resulting in proceedings which sometimes can hardly be called edifying. Well, we do so in virtue of a very ancient charter. It is to be found in the second Psalm and provides that the heathen shall be given to Christ for an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. It is also done in fulfilment of a prophecy uttered by Christ, recorded by both St. Mathew and St. Mark, that the gospel shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations. And also in obedience to His last command to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. Thus certain folks have it impressed upon their minds that it is their duty to go on this mission, some to the most inaccessible corners of the Dark Continent, some to the lovely islands of unfrequented seas, and some to inland Chinese cities or wherever the uttermost parts of the earth may be in which some of the every creatures live. There need be no more said about it, for go they will or try to.

One sometimes wonders why greater stress is not laid by Christians on this world-wide preaching of the gospel as an evidence of the truth of their faith from the notable fulfilment in our day of this most improbable prophecy. The mandarins and *litterati* of Christ's time were bitterly opposed to his gospel; the preachers he selected were anything but promising; there, for many centuries, seemed hardly a chance in favour of its fulfilment, and yet it is being done. This is not one of those cases which can be explained on the supposition that the prediction was uttered after the event, for the highest authorities are agreed that it was to be found in the book which contains it, substantially as it is at

present, at least a hundred years ago ; and it is since then that the fulfilment has become most conspicuous.

I did Captain Liao, the commander of our escort, a great injustice when I supposed he had deserted us, for on the following day he caught us up again, and saw us safe to Hengchow. It is a curious fact that the people of Hunan are most pleasant folks to have anything to do with, once they are away from their homes. As a rule they are manly, brave, intelligent, straightforward and obliging, not greedy, good companions, and in a word more like ourselves in disposition than the Chinese of any other province. They may be seen at their best in the shape of an escort, if one takes the trouble to show oneself friendly. An evening spent chatting over the drum after the first watch is set, will bring about a good understanding which makes it most pleasant for all, and very convenient for the traveller. They can furnish all kinds of information about everybody and everything all along the route. They help your boatmen, they speak a good word for you to the people, and if you have obtained their confidence, they will not only let you do as you like yourself, but also do anything you care to ask them.

From Siangtan Hsien to the next city, Hengshan Hsien, is a distance of 270 *li*. The river is still of considerable breadth but full of shallows. The country here is hilly with but few towns of any size. The people are friendly and the houses unusually neat and clean. On this part of the journey I find from my diary that for want of more striking items I had to chronicle such things as these : that the people of Siangtan are largely occupied in chewing betelnut which is sold everywhere, made up in one-cash-each chews. These contain a piece of husk and of the kernel with a touch of lime, neatly fastened together with a strip of the leaf. They also smoke tobacco and opium, and are great spirit drinkers, all of which proves that money is plentiful there, and that man naturally is not originally virtuous, as the trimetrical classic says, for it would be much easier to get them to adopt an additional vice or two than to give up one of the four of which many indulge in all. Above Siangtan there are a large number of lime-burning establishments, some of which are said to employ over a thousand hands in mining and a hundred cattle in pumping the water. These our escort would not hear of our visiting. "No," said Captain Liao, "the proverb says there are three

establishments a man must keep out of—gambling, brothels, and mining,” and the proverb settled the question. We saw a number of people searching for gold which is to be found in small grains amongst the stones after freshets. At a small town called Sanmen we bought some remarkably large oranges ; in size and flavour they were like pumeloes, but in every other respect like oranges. We failed to see the famous mountain of Hengshan which is visible from the river for some thirty *li* before reaching the city of that name. All the time we were passing it was covered by mist as with a great cloud of incense. This is the last of China’s famous mountains which has yet to be visited and described by the foreign traveller. We know all about Taishan and Omishan, but Hengshan with its wonderful temples, and that most ancient Yü tablet, with its inscription in the mysterious tadpole characters, still remains unclimbed and undescribed. Hengshan city is small, and the people have always been friendly, but we found work there most difficult through the weather being overpoweringly hot. This wave of heat was followed by a terrific thunderstorm during which fell hailstones the size of marbles, and the temperature fell to that of mid-winter.

From Siangtan to Hengchow took us a week. Five *li* below the latter city is the mouth of the Liu river into which the greater part of the upward-bound boats turn. It is from this river that the best Hunan coal comes, both soft and hard, and the natives say there are tens of thousands of boats engaged in the coal trade from it. It is also the direct route to the Canton province. Hengchow city is built round an elbow of the river which brings its whole fifteen *li* of frontage under the eye at a glance. It presents a handsome appearance and its situation is very picturesque. For ornament it can boast of a pagoda at either end, of the broad squat kind ; an imposing college built on an island in mid-stream ; and many temples crowning rising ground both inside and outside the walls, whose gay porcelain roofs framed in the brilliant green of the springclad trees gave life and colour to what at any season must be a striking picture. Before we reached the city we knew that all the students from seven *hsiens* were collected there for the examinations, and had made up our minds that perhaps the wisest thing we could do under these circumstances was to pass quietly on. With their followers they were said to number 10,000 ; far too many for one foreigner to deal with. From

Hengchow we intended making for Paoching Fu, 250 *li* distant by land, so we planned to hire coolies quietly in the evening and slip away early next day while the enemy would be still asleep. This programme, however, was upset by the *yamén*.

The authorities knew all about our intentions before we arrived, and concluded they could improve on our ideas considerably. Immediately on our putting in an appearance a brisk official gentleman met us with the information that it was all right, and every arrangement had been concluded for our moving on without delay to Paoching. The despatches were already written, and a gunboat waiting to escort us to Chiyang, a city five days further up the river, on the direct route, as he said, to Paoching. We objected that according to the geography of the province, as we had learned it, we should find ourselves further away from Paoching at Chiyang than we then were; but this we were assured was quite a mistake, for there was no other road. Their object, of course, was to keep us on the water till out of their jurisdiction; so we had to tell them that road or no road we would continue our journey by land. It was late before we got rid of this friend and were at liberty to make our own arrangements, but we soon found we could do nothing. Not a single coolie was to be obtained on any terms, as the *yamén* had warned them they would catch it if they engaged to the foreigner. One bold headman after driving a bargain for double rates promised to find us the number of men wanted, but he too failed to obtain even one. This spoke well for the control which the Hengchow authorities have over their city; there are not many places in the province where starving coolies could be kept from a paying job by a mere *yamén* warning.

After we had fully learned our own helplessness, the next day our official friend put in an appearance again to ascertain whether we would go up stream or down. He confessed to having made a mistake about there being no road to Paoching. There was one, but it lay over high mountains, and through such wild districts that no one ever went by it, and thus he had never heard of it before. But that very morning the magistrate had sent for the head official coolie, and threatened him with the bamboo if he did not furnish us with men; but neither the fear of punishment nor the love of cash would induce a single coolie to attempt so dangerous a road. We told him that they were still making mistakes, for there was a splendid paved level road all the way, with inns every few *li*, and

plenty of coolies to be had, but for their own prohibition. However, they must please understand that we would not go up, and we would not go down, but just stay where we were and sell books as long as they lasted. Then turning to my assistant I played our trump card. "Mr. Wang, please get the books ready, and bring me my big boots; we must not waste more time. The officials here no doubt don't understand what they are doing; who ever heard before of a foreigner coming to a city during the examinations and willing to go away of his own accord, and they won't let him? If there is a great uproar now they cannot blame us." This is generally effective in bringing the authorities to terms, and was so in the present case. Our friend begged for an hour's grace before we attempted anything so desperate; and at the end of the time the coolies were forthcoming. We had still to pay the high rate we had previously offered for these; but the yamén threw in one chair, two yamén runners, and three soldiers into the bargain. The chair was to carry me through all the towns and busy places unobserved, but nothing less than an iron safe with the keyhole in the inside would have been necessary to carry out this idea. As per agreement we had to leave Hengchow without attempting work beyond selling books for a short time outside the city. The people are friendly, and I have no reason for saying the students may not be friendly also, for they never on any occasion molested me there. For the first and only time on the whole trip I was asked to produce my passport there, and then it was found that the document which cost me so much trouble to get, was not the one they wanted to see. They had hunted up an old despatch referring to me which described a passport of a different number and date. However, that matter was easily explained.

There are at Hengchow two places of unusual interest to foreigners. One is the ancestral home of Pêng Yü-lin, late Admiral of the Yangtze. It is a mean-looking thatched cottage, standing under a tree on the river bank opposite the city. Humble and lowly though it would be, even for a small farmer, it was far too grand for His Excellency Pêng, so he had an addition made to it more to his liking with ordinary reed mats. He died a poor man, and his grandchildren still live in the thatched cottage. Yet he had only to help himself, or simply to shut his eyes and open his hand as others do, to become the possessor of untold wealth. This grim old patriot, and apostle of things primitive,

had the reputation of having cut off more heads than any other man of his time. He could neither be bribed nor deceived. Corruption trembled before him, and evil-doers quaked at the very sound of his name. He remained a fiery anti-foreigner to the last, but, notwithstanding, one could wish that there were more of his kind in China. The other place of interests is the Roman Catholic establishment. It is built at the back of a low hill, on the left bank of the river a little way below the city. There are not many of those who bear the Christian name, but must be glad to think that from here, at least, in this dark province throughout all these generations morning and night, praise and prayer has been raised to the Christian's God. It has suffered from mob violence frequently, but the establishment is still there as large as ever it was. Every native one meets in that district knows about the Roman Catholic mission, but one does not come across many who have ever seen the fathers, or who are acquainted with their teachings. In spite of the fact that foreign priests had been resident there for over two centuries, I never visited a city where a foreigner was a greater curiosity. We had to anchor in mid-stream for a week, on the occasion of our first visit, and thousands of people came every day, paying their boat hire, and undertaking a good deal of bother, in order to see the great curiosity a foreigner was to them.

There is a remarkable contrast in almost every point between the Roman Catholic system of carrying on mission work, and that of the Protestants. The methods followed by the former are old, very quiet, regarded as proved and perfected and hence stereotyped. One seldom hears of any new departures taken, fresh efforts made, or new places occupied by our Roman Catholic friends. As they did a hundred years ago they are doing to-day, and in the same places. "The spirit of the land" has completely conquered them. Their system in the interior may have been forced upon them as a necessity, when, in the persecuting times, to be discovered meant death or banishment, but now it is maintained from pure choice. They are still as invisible as they were then. The fathers do not personally preach to the heathen, nor circulate books, nor carry on medical work amongst them, nor educational institutions for them, nor come into contact with the people generally in any way. They live in a state of mysterious seclusion which the native vainly attempts to penetrate, and about

which he invents most wonderful stories. They have methods of their own by means of which, if the fathers do not seek the heathen, the heathen are induced to seek the fathers ; but on the whole they are but mildly aggressive on heathenism. Being mainly occupied in discharging the offices of their religion on behalf of their Christians, from the fees for which indeed their support is partly derived, they fill a position more analogous to that of a home clergyman, whose congregation demands all his time, than to that held by the Protestant missionary, who considers that his time and effort must be mainly devoted to the heathen. In the Central provinces Roman Catholic effort presents the appearance of an old tree which has triumphantly withstood many a storm, and is still strong, but which under present circumstances does not promise any great further development in form or growth.

We are so accustomed to having the works of the Roman Catholic fathers held up to us in the press, and by writers on Chinese matters generally, as models for us to copy and admire, that one often wonders how much the writers know about these matters ; and how they came by their information. But, while saying nothing about this, there are, I think, a few points in which it would profit the fathers to copy us. For instance, in our constant and intimate intercourse with the people at large. In the great proportion of our efforts given to direct aggressive work. In the pains we take to find out further and better methods of reaching the people, and the energy with which we put them in operation. In our efforts to make the native Christians independent of us, self-supporting and self-extending, and in our diligence in opening new stations and occupying fresh ground. These are all points of strong contrast in which the advantage is on our side. Let the two continue to run side by side, as at present, for another score of years, and in spite of their long start it will become obvious to all men that our Roman Catholic friends with their ancient, unchanging, unaccommodating system are left nowhere in the struggle for bringing the Chinese people to obedience, to the one form or other, of the Christian faith, by progressive Protestant energy and life.

The distance from Hengchow Fu to Paoching Fu is said to be 250 *li*, but the *li* are of the very longest. The road too, though good, is paved with the hardest stones one ever set foot

upon. It leads alternately through level bottom lands where immense crops of rice are raised, and over low hills, some barren, and some beautifully covered with shrubs, largely flowering. The people all along the route are friendly, and the towns frequent, but small. When we reached one of these, our coolies and escort would hurry off in search of refreshment, gaseous, liquid, or solid, while we hunted up some roomy space in which the people, who immediately turned out *en masse*, could be accommodated; and kept on talking and selling books till their curiosity was satisfied, after which, and only after which, would it be possible to attend to other matters.

On this section I noticed a considerable amount of poppy cultivation. Every other farm would have a small field set apart for it. The flowers were then in full bloom and white, red, or white and red mixed made the landscape quite gay. It is only within the last two years that opium growing has been allowed in Hunan to any extent. Once or twice the innkeepers refused to receive our party alleging a lack of rice or bedding as an excuse, but the discovery was made that this only happened in places where there were no opium dens, and was due to our opium smoking coolies rushing on ahead and warning the people against us. The cause once discovered the cure was easy. As we drew near to Paoching the people seemed very poor. In several places men were drawing the plough in the fields for want of an animal of any sort. It took four men to equal one donkey. Coal mining was being carried on almost everywhere for local use, and iron smelting on a small scale. We lunched one day on a delicious dish, entirely new to me, of rice curd. It was nicely cooked and served flavoured with five different seasonings according to taste, and the total cost was two cash. I never remember cash having so large a purchasing power.

Our escort turned out to have quite a sense of humour, and delighted in humbugging the simple country folks. While quietly walking on ahead and supposed to be out of earshot, I would hear them at their jokes. Hunan Hodge by the roadside, his eyes starting out of his head, would exclaim "*hao ta kwei*"—what a big devil! Whereupon they would chime in "Big! do you think this one big? Why it is only the little one; wait till you have seen *the big* one who is coming on behind." Upon which Hodge would hurry off to meet this mythical big one while they roared

with laughter. Or the question would be put to them, "Who, who is that?" and the answer would come without the slightest hesitation, or apparent premeditation, "That is the Hengchow *Yen lo wang*,"—a particularly hideous deity who is supposed to come and nick the thread of those whose course is run, and convey them to the shades below. "He is very efficacious, and the Paoching people want him for some folks who have been there too long" which effort of the imagination would take away the breath of their hearers and give them great delight.

In spite of the friendly attitude of the country people I had sundry misgivings in drawing near to Paoching. There were several signs of a storm which the practised eye could note. One was no one had ever been in that region before in foreign dress. Another was the city had an ominous name—Paoching, "precious love." It may be a pure superstition, but I don't like cities into the names of which such words as love, peace, tranquility, and the like enter. My experience has been that the rule of contraries holds good here also, and such are likely to prove conspicuously lacking in these desirable qualities, as if they had been so called in sarcastic jest. Another was the fact that it had produced, and contained the home of a very high living official, namely, H.E. Liu Kun-yi, the Viceroy at Nanking. This fact alone was enough to set every individual up on his high horse since the credit of it belongs, not only to each one personally, but to the very soil and surroundings of the city. These are just the folks to jump upon any poor strolling person like myself who belonged to no one knew where. Lastly, a week or two before, the city had been visited by an Roman Catholic father who had seen the district magistrate, and obtained permission to build a church there. At least that was what they said, but no one knew much about it, only they were all on the watch to checkmate the next move. This they took for granted was my arrival on the scene; and no doubt I had brought the abhorred church with me. As a matter of fact I learned at the *yamên* that the father had simply come on behalf of a convert in that locality who had got into legal difficulties.

Our arrival in Paoching created a great sensation. Accompanied by our escort, we walked rapidly through the large and busy suburb outside the East gate, and over a long roofed-in bridge, lined with a score of beautiful shops on either side, wherein all sorts of knickknacks were sold. It formed an arcade which

would have done credit to a foreign city. Entering the East gate, we had to make our way almost to the North gate, near to which the district magistrate's yamên is. It was necessary to proceed there in the first instance, in order that our Hengchow escort should be relieved of all further responsibility, and receive a receipt for our safe delivery at head-quarters. As we passed along, the whole population seemed to turn out, and came surging along after us to the yamên, forming a grand procession which blocked the streets as far as the eye could see.

We were exceedingly fortunate in his worship, Mr. Fu, the district magistrate. He proved to be a native of Wuchang, well-informed as to missionary matters, and a most capable, friendly, and intelligent man. Our first business was to get all ready for a speedy retreat should the need arise, so fresh coolies were hired and the baggage sent on ahead, and then we were at liberty to try what could be done with the people. We had hoped to obtain a boat here so as to be able to continue our journey by water down the river, but none could be had for less than forty thousand cash to the end of the rapids. This sum, however, was said to include the price of the boat, as it might never come back. Thus the realisation of my dream of floating pleasantly down stream instead of wearily trudging along on foot had to be postponed till we reached Hinghwa Hsien, the next city further down, 170 *li* distant. While our arrangements were being made, Mr. Fu astonished me by the great variety and accuracy of his information on all foreign subjects, religious, political, and scientific; and on expressing my surprise he introduced to me a friend of his, Mr. Wên, who it turned out had studied for a short time under Mr. Barber at Wuchang. Having reached the source of the information, it was poured forth in greater volume than ever, and then I sat listening to really most intelligent remarks on the railway and telegraph, the telephone, the phonograph; the depth of the sea, the distance of the stars, the speed of steamers, what prices foreigners paid for pictures, and the cost of the Suez Canal. They were decidedly abreast of the times in the Paoching yamên. I must confess I never before felt the importance of such labours as Mr. Barber is engaged in as I did then, not only on account of the information imparted, but more especially on account of the kindly, friendly, feeling which had been induced in a quarter where it was of so great value. Its

value I could the more appreciate, as our conversation was punctuated by the shouts of the mob outside.

At last all was ready, even to the Ch'angsha braves whom it was thought desirable to send for from the camp close by, and the crowd which packed the courts of the yamên yard was ready too. I never saw so many people under the influence of such a severe attack of hullabaloo before. As the door was thrown open, and we appeared, they received us with such a screaming, yelling, jeering, and capering that not a word could we get them to hear. They allowed us to pass through their midst right to the yamên gate where, standing on a big stone, I tried to gain their ear. It is sometimes possible by dint of an unsparing use of one's voice to calm even a hostile mob, and to talk it into a better spirit, but here I shouted my best and gesticulated in the friendliest fashion entirely in vain. Meanwhile standing there I could see that our particular enemy, the long gowned gentlemen with the goggles, were present in considerable force, and their cry was "seize him, kill him," etc. There was "precious" little "love" to be seen anywhere, and the crowd rapidly got ugly. At last a rush was made to get hold of me, so I stepped down from the stone and slipped away, accompanied by a few braves, while the rest held the gate and kept the crowd penned up in the yamên yard. Our retreat was well managed, and ten minutes sufficed to place a broad river between us and the excited citizens of Paoching, with all the ferry boats on our side. They poured out of the city, and lined the banks in great numbers, but we went on our way and saw them no more. The closing scene at the yamên I did not witness, but I was told it was a very striking one. Mr. Fu had intended accompanying me, but the sight of so many people shouting "beat," and throwing things, roused his wrath. He ordered a number of them to be seized and dragged into the judgment hall, where being already in his robes he took his seat, tried them for rioting, convicted them on the evidence of his own eyes, and sentenced them to be bamboosed forthwith. Thus, while we were trying to get them to hear at the one end of the yard, Mr. Fu was making them feel at the other. Justice is said to have leaden feet, but in this instance the feet were light enough though the hands were heavy.

It may be asked, seeing that no books were sold, or much work done of any kind, would it not have been better to have kept

away altogether, or to have put on the native dress to avoid attention, and thus prevented the uproar. As to the former, the preachers of the gospel, since the days of St. Paul, have never felt justified in giving any place the go-by because there was a possibility of their presence creating a disturbance. Had they, especially in the earlier days, adopted any such rule, the number of cities which would have heard their message would have been few indeed. As to the alternative of visiting hostile places in native dress—this is just a shade better than not visiting them at all. It is true that by means of this, and a quiet retiring course of action, the peace may be preserved ; but it is to little purpose, since the success of the proceeding depends on its not being found out who and what we are.

For pioneering work one's own foreign dress, ungraceful though it be, and hardly decent as the Chinese consider some forms of it to be, is by far the best. By its means one is enabled to do the greatest possible amount of work. In native dress we attract no particular attention, and have not the opportunity of speaking to half so many people, or of disposing of half so many books, as we are able to do in our own. Next the foreign dressed missionary opens up the way for other foreign visitors whether missionaries or not. Once a city has become accustomed to seeing the foreign dressed book-man, and as a rule not many visits are required to bring this about, then any other foreigner may visit it on any lawful business without suffering the least annoyance. This result does not follow from the presence of our brethren in native dress. It is no unusual experience for one to receive a request from them to avoid the cities in which they live, lest the sight of a foreigner should cause a disturbance to their detriment. But the most important reason in favour of the foreign dress for Protestant missionaries, and the one which alone is sufficient to decide the question in its favour against all that can be said on the other side, is the marked distinction which it places between us and the Roman Catholics. In new regions the Chinese regard all missionaries as Romanists, and go where one may in China, whether justly or unjustly, these are regarded by the heathen with intense dislike. It is thus of the utmost importance that they should understand that we are not Romanists, and very often when they do so, from being bitterly hostile, they become friendly. It is thus often necessary to say that we differ from them in

nationality, in doctrines, in practices, and in dress. Since we are not Romanists, I can conceive of no reason why we should condemn ourselves to suffer on account of their bad reputation, when this can be so easily avoided. There is no distinction so readily seen and understood of all men as dress, and a single visit from a foreign dressed missionary is sufficient to stamp on the mind of a whole city the knowledge that foreign dressed men are not Romanists. I am afraid that writing in this way I shall be regarded by some as exceedingly uncharitable, but I must confess to a measure of sympathy with the heathen in this matter. All this widespread hatred cannot be entirely causeless, and it is not so long ago since our own ancestors who knew the Romanists better than we do, regarded them with exactly the same feelings, as the heathen Chinese do to-day.

I have never been able to see much force in the arguments in favour of wearing the native dress. It is said to give one more influence with the people, but experience seems to prove the opposite, and reason also. Suppose one of the Chinese *literati* were to go to London to teach Confucianism, he certainly would be more respected, and have greater influence, if he appeared in his own embroidered robes and buttoned hat, than if he encased his rather slender understandings in a pair of tight pants, donned a claw-hammer coat, and adorned his head with a chimney pot. Men must be born and brought up to a dress to become it. As a rule, a foreigner got up as a Chinaman presents as odd a figure to the native eye, as a Chinaman got up as a foreigner does to our eye. It is said that places can be visited and work done by the native dressed, which the foreign dressed brother would find impossible. This I very much doubt. As a matter of fact, since the days of Willey and Williamson, the Bible-men have been first in nearly all the cities of all the provinces, and they wear the foreign dress to a man. It is said the native dress brings one nearer to the people, but this is a mistake, for it is impossible to have them nearer to one than the foreign dress brings them. This the poor traveller knows to his cost when, on a warm sultry day, wearied and perspiring, he sits down at the village tea shop for a moment's rest, and in a few moments has all the people in the neighbourhood packed around him, some touching his hair, others feeling what material his clothes and boots are made of, and always the dirtiest, the deformed, and those who have repulsive

diseases, the nearest and closest. One gets a good deal of praise sometimes from the unthinking for the self-denial shown in wearing the native dress in the interior. The fact is that it is the foreign dress which involves the self-denial, for the other saves the traveller from three-fourths of his annoyances. But enough of this topic.

From Paoching to Hinghwa Hsien is a distance of 170 *li* of moderate length. The country is mountainous and beautiful, but the people at the Paoching end are remarkably ugly, with ill shaped heads, and large protruding front teeth. They look more like Darwin's original ancestor than any I met with elsewhere. Thirty *li* from the city we came upon a splendid grave. It, from the inscription, proved to be that of a junior guardian of the heir apparent, named Li. This man was originally a poor miner in that neighbourhood. He went to the wars in the Taiping times, and by applying his knowledge of his ancient craft to that art was able so effectively to undermine the walls of Nanking that he blew them up, and the Imperialists were able to rush in and put the finishing stroke to the rebellion. As a result both honours of the highest grade and great wealth were showered upon Li, but he did not live to enjoy them long. Here our escort promised us an interview with some Yao aborigines who, there being now peace in the mountains, had come down selling medicine, but when we reached the place they were gone. Hunan and western provinces passports are now issued with a stipulation that the bearer is not to visit the Yao, Lolo, Miao or other aboriginal districts, and quite rightly, as the Chinese, not being in supreme authority there, could hardly be held responsible for any mishap which might befall a stranger. At the same time from all I have ever been able to learn about the Yao in Hunan, no insuperable difficulty would be found in visiting them in ordinary times, but the traveller would have to keep out of the way of the authorities *en route*, and take his chances without complaining.

Sixty *li* from Hinghwa we found coal being sold at the rate of 300 cash a ton, and larger quantities for less, as the supply was unlimited. I think I deserve well of my country for discovering a place where three and a half tons of good coal can be obtained for one dollar. What would the poor folks at home, or even the rich folks of Shanghai, say to a shilling a ton for coal, and no dispute about the weight either! Practically this was simply the cost of breaking it out of the mountain from a seam six feet thick.

The demand for it was small, as it was twenty miles of bad road from a waterway, and that too a bad one. I have often wondered why it is that while so many have urged the claims of Stephenson's invention upon the attention of the Chinese, hardly any one has had a word to say about the still more important discovery of Macadam. What would infinitely add to the prosperity of China is not so much a few lines of railway as an abundance of good turnpike roads, which would permit of commodities being transported from place to place in some less expensive way than on men's shoulders. Indeed, till the turnpikes are made, railways must necessarily be but of limited use, and can never obtain traffic enough to pay. The Paoching region is rich in minerals which might almost as well have no existence, as far as any benefit they are to the people is concerned. They claim to have found gold, copper, and tin, while I can answer for coal, iron, limestone and marble being there in abundance, and also lead and zinc ores, having seen them myself. A little lime is burned, some iron smelted, and a limited quantity of coal extracted and sent to Hankow ; but being without roads, without money, and without enterprise, the people cannot avail themselves of their resources much.

The Hinghwa people are a great improvement, in appearance and every way, on their neighbours further up, but they speak a dialect which no living European can make head or tail of, save perhaps Dr. Edkins. In these regions it is very interesting to observe how, from day to day, the cast of features and the dialect of the people change. Fortunately Mandarin is understood everywhere, and no one who can speak it need ever be at a loss ; still a few sentences of the real native talk come in very handy in helping one to get on a friendly footing. As a rule it is not difficult to pick up a few, for the new speech is made by the systematic variation of certain sounds ; and once one has got hold of the key to the changes, what before was utterly unintelligible, immediately becomes plain enough. To the Hinghwa dialect there was no key discoverable.

In Mr. Wang, the magistrate, who we found had ruled over Hinghwa for over ten years, we met with another friend. He was a kindly Kiangsu man, and had been much in Shanghai. The people were so fond of him that, when his three years' terms were up, they absolutely refused to permit his leaving. Apparently a

good deal of latitude was allowed the people thereabouts, with regard to their likings, for at the next city of Nganhwa they had recently put their magistrate into a chair, and carried him back to the capital, with the request that he should be changed for another one, and they got their wish. We met with no difficulties at all in this city, although neither foreigner nor books had ever been seen there. All classes were friendly, and the *literati* not particularly conspicuous.

Here we were able to procure a boat to the city of Iyang, at the end of the rapids 540 *li* distant by water. It cost us 9,000 cash, a sum which did not include the price of the boat, although it well might, for such a miserable bundle of boards and mats I never travelled in before. We had heard a great deal about the dangers attending the navigation of the Paoching Fu river, and how, as a rule, if a boat once got safely down it never went back to tempt its fate a second time, but was broken up and sold for its timber. I had therefore given orders for hiring a stout boat, well manned and found, and such was the one really engaged by us. But the owner thereof saw it would pay him better to send his neighbour than to come himself, so while we were engaged with the crowd, and in the midst of a great bustle, he had our goods put into the other craft. We went on board, and were off down stream some distance, before it fully dawned upon us what had taken place. We therefore stopped and reviewed the situation. We found that Mr. Wang had sent us four braves as an escort, but there being room in the boat for two only we sent the others back. The boatman had but one boat pole, and it was broken, and but one assistant, a small boy. The whole thing looked like as if some one had intended poking fun at us, or at those eight-and-forty dreadful rapids which we were now about to negotiate. We ordered a supply of poles to be bought, also a large mat to keep us weather tight; and that an able bodied man should be engaged to help the boy; failing all this we would return and make it hot for the original rascal. Our boatman was a wild Indian-looking man who could not articulate a single syllable intelligible to us, but he proved to be a most willing man and obliging fellow. Our wishes were met to the letter; a goodly stock of rice and vegetables was laid in, including a sample potato thirty-two inches long and thick in proportion, and we started off again to meet whatever fresh adventures might lie before us.

Travelling in Hunan, even by land, is not all of it worry and trouble. It has its pleasures, some of them very exquisite. When we get far away from the rivers, in amongst the mountains, where the expense of breaking out the timber would be too great to pay, and the trees are consequently allowed to grow and become great ; where the people are few, and their works scarce ; where, in short, nature has had a chance to work uninterfered with by man, especially the Chinaman, it gives rise to intense delight to be able to wander about in such a region. The air is fresh and invigorating ; the scent of the pine trees brings back happy memories of other lands and other days. Something fresh or strange catches the eye at every turn—a flower, a plant, or a bird—and gives rise to pleasing thought. Imagination runs wild. In the gigantic rocks, piled up in all fantastic forms, it is easy to picture out great cathedrals, giants' castles, and robbers' caves. Here is a crouching lion, yonder a stately spire, or shapely dome ; now we are in the East, now in the West ; sometimes it is a scene from the Arabian Nights, and sometimes a place which Bunyan dreamed of. It is a new world, a world of wonders. Over there in the distant mountain peaks, piercing the clouds which mantle them, are islands floating in the air. That shaft of light might be the ladder Jacob saw, while the mist which fills the valley, with the sun playing on it from above, unrolls a panorama such as might have appeared to St. John in Patmos. It is the world as God made it, a sight seen by few in our day. It fills the soul with adoration and praise. "O Lord, how manifold are thy works ! in wisdom hast thou made them all ; the earth is full of thy riches."

Boat travelling has its good times too ; the night we left it was delightful to be able to rest in peace after a weary ten days' march. The river was clear, and the moon full, so we floated on till late. On either hand were high precipices, some bare, some deeply clad with ferns and shrubs, but all crowned with graceful palms and bamboos, nodding down to us as bent by the evening breeze. Deep down in the clear water, as far as the eye could see, on either hand were other rocks and other trees, nodding up in unison with those above. For music there was the murmur of the hidden streams, as they made their way over the stones into the river, and occasionally the mild thunder of a distant cascade. We felt we were "far away in a region old where the rivers wandered o'er

sands of gold," as Mrs. Hemans sung, and although with her we knew it was not heaven, it, nevertheless, was first-rate.

All along the river bank deeply laden boats of about 800, or 1,000 piculs burden were tied up in tiers waiting for a flood. Some of them had waited many weeks. The greater part of them were coal laden, and of the kind called *Mao-pien-tse*. These are built of boards roughly put together, with a mat sail, and a big tree for a mast. They draw about five feet of water, and make only the one voyage; then they are broken up. As they won't steer, and cannot stand any bumping on the rocks, it is these which give the river its bad name for danger. I have noticed that elsewhere an attempt is generally made to adapt the boat to the nature of the waterway, or to improve the waterway for the sake of the boat, but these are ideas which have not as yet dawned on the Paoching mind. They go on building and loading these great unwieldy craft, and then sit down to wait resignedly till Providence sends a spate to wash them out into the Tungting lake. A foot and a half of water may be counted on in the shallows at all times, and the Chinese elsewhere can do a deal of traffic on that depth. Besides more could be easily obtained were it any one's business, which it is not, to do a little banking and dredging.

The rapids were decidedly disappointing. They were of the open mill-race kind, as a rule without obstruction, and with ordinary care not in the least dangerous. We got a little excitement out of one or two of them through a strong head wind, which raged against us all the way, suddenly shooting down through a gorge and turning our boat round just on the brink of the rapids, so that we took several of them broadside on. Once while thus occupied another boat ran into us and ought to have upset or stove us in, but fortunately did neither, and once we ran clean out of the water on the tail of a bank, also without scathe. These things, however, were exceptional, and were due to our persisting in travelling in exceptional weather.

Between Hinghwa and the town of Lungping, half-way, there are quite a number of iron smelting works which filled the valleys with smoke in real civilised-like fashion. We visited several of these. They employed about fifty men each, and were said to turn out about twenty piculs of iron a day. In on case did they seem to be owned, or managed, by natives of that district.

Lungping, with Kiakow, and Wangsaping, three towns all close together, is now the centre of the great tea trade of Nganhwa, or, as it is called in the special lingo of the foreign tea business, "Oanfa." Just then the trade was at its briskest. On all the hillsides the pickers were to be seen hard at work, and the tea leaves were drying in the sun on mats, before every cottage door. The three great packing centres simply swarmed with people, rushing and bustling, like great human anthills. The tea is brought to them by the farmers from immense distances, and was then selling at from eighty to one hundred cash a catty—six or seven taels a picul. As the article brought from fifty to seventy taels a picul in the Hankow market afterwards, there was a fat profit for somebody, even after allowing a good margin for the expense of packing, transport and Customs dues. They told me again and again that this year's crop was much better in quality, but shorter in quantity, than last year's, which however was the kind of information they would have given in any case, as that best calculated to keep up prices. It seemed to me there was tea enough on every hand for all the world to drink.

At Iyang Hsien we were once more upon familiar ground. I had been there before twice, and my first visit was paid under very peculiar circumstances. This city is the third trade centre of the province, so when I first proposed to go there, and was informed that the thing was impossible, because it had been captured by 200 robbers who then held it, I simply supposed the authorities were drawing on their imaginations a little more freely than usual. The idea that 200 people could come into a city of 200,000 inhabitants, and scare every man of them out of it, by simply running about and stabbing people with short knives, and setting fire to houses, was one which I decidedly refused to entertain though vouched for by the highest authorities. Since then I have learned that such things are by no means unusual in China. In Hankow they still speak with bated breath of the 28th of the 3rd moon, on which night some nine years ago a score of determined men could have taken the town. The very rumours that something of the sort was about to be attempted sent the people flying far and near for days, and left it empty.

This literally happened at Iyang in the twelfth year of Tung Chih, and nearly happened again on the eve of my visit. The robbers had taken the neighbouring town of Lanchi, and were

advancing on Iyang when General Ma was able to intercept and defeat them. I saw the general after the battle, and he gave me a graphic account of it, how they fought for a whole day, and what brave deeds were done. Altogether one robber was killed, but none of the soldiers were hurt. When I expressed my surprise that the slain were so few he assured me they had shot another one, but he got up and ran away before they could bag him ! The victory, notwithstanding, was a most effective one, and Iyang was saved that time ; the authorities had insisted that it had been lost, simply to keep me from going there, or because, not knowing better at the time, and reasoning from previous experience, they were actually under that impression. In the heads that were hanging at all the *mataos* there was ample evidence that grim work was a-doing. The district magistrate was catching and executing a great many. The leader, an old soldier, Shae Tai-han by name, had also fallen into his hands. They tried to shoot him, but finding he was lead proof they struck off his head also, and it, they said, weighed nine catties. In spite of this triumph of law and order the authorities still seemed to be in perfect terror of the sovereign people, and had but little control over them. Under these circumstances we did not prolong our visit. On the next occasion, although there were then no rebellions to contend with we did not succeed much better. The people stoned us in the city, and stoned us in the suburb, and finally when driven to our boat they came and stoned it till we had to leave. There are more bad characters in Iyang than in any other city of the province, due to its standing between the immense tea districts on the south and a vast region bordering on the Tungting lake which is under water half the year ; thus there is a large population which can find lawful employment during only a portion of the year, and in their extreme poverty it is no wonder if they take to lawless courses.

On our present visit we found that Iyang had gone down in the world during the last dozen years. The great street outside the South gate was still 15 *li* long, but there were sundry gaps in it, and the shops had a hard-up appearance. It had suffered from frequent fires, and other troubles. Merchants from other places did not visit its markets as of yore. As one of themselves said, " If they come once they get such treatment that they never come back." Ichabod is written over it now and serve it right. We

found the old spirit still surviving. As soon as we were discovered a crowd gathered and began to pelt our boat. Just then our escort had gone to the *yamên* to report our arrival, but had left their swords—the only time, by the by, on which any escort had been provided with any weapon other than an umbrella, or a paper lantern by way of a firearm. Our wild Indian skipper was so excited by this uncourteous reception that he seized one of these swords, and made a rush, apparently with the object of cropping a few heads, but we got hold of him before any damage was done. Whereupon he made them a vigorous speech in his unknown tongue. What he said no one knew, but it sounded like strong language. As usual we could only stop the stone throwing by moving our boat out into the stream beyond range.

Our first business was to change boats, and we were fortunate in finding one to our mind, at a reasonable rate, to take us to Hankow. But after we had concluded the bargain the skipper betook himself to a fortune teller, who told him it was a job which would give him no end of trouble, so he quietly slipped away with his boat. The fortune teller discovered this by dissecting a Chinese character, and his information was perfectly correct, as the one we engaged in his place soon found out. But we could have told him the same thing without the aid of any occult lore, seeing we were homeward bound in bad weather with strong headwinds against us; and seeing the Chinese boatmen have such a propensity for making fast whenever a passable excuse offers. Under such circumstances, no matter who the foreigner is, the boatman is likely to have trouble.

This matter finished we went ashore. The *yamên* had sent four braves as an escort—we had specially asked them not to send many—and we began operations on a large space recently cleared by a fire. I was glad to observe that our four guardians were by no means seriously alarmed by the immense crowd which immediately collected. It told us that lawful authority was no longer paralysed by craven fears, and we got on splendidly for a long time. Our difficulties arose at last from the anxiety of our *yamên* friends to preserve order. Some of the more mischievous ones on the outskirts of the crowd took to throwing things again, and the raids they made on these ultimately produced a sort of Chinese Donnybrook Fair in which pigtailed were pulled, gowns torn, and umbrellas smashed to a considerable extent. They were most anxious to

send for more assistance, so as to secure a few of the rowdies, for the sake of making an example of them, but this we did not wish. We were glad to note that the bulk of the people were on our side ; they listened attentively, bought books freely, and when at last heavy rain put a stop to our proceedings we came away feeling highly hopeful of the possibilities in Iyang. In order to persuade the yamên to dispense with escorting us further, we had to pass our word not to *lo lieu* any more all the way home. This term is the equivalent of the "pidgin" English "makee bobbery," and is sometimes applied to book selling. As our time was now almost up, and there were no other places of any size for us to delay at, we gave the required promise, and were accordingly left to ourselves. We hurried home, getting over the 1,000 *li* in half the time taken by other boats, and arrived only one day overdue on a six weeks' journey.



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